

Aramaic Bowl Spells

Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls

VOLUME ONE

Shaul Shaked,
James Nathan Ford,
and Siam Bhayro



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Aramaic Bowl Spells

Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity

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Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls

VOLUME 1

Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection

VOLUME 20



Aramaic Bowl Spells

Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls
Volume One

By

Shaul Shaked
James Nathan Ford
Siam Bhayro

With contributions from

Matthew Morgenstern
Naama Vilozy



BRILL

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2013

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Shaked, Shaul.

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Dedicated to the memory of Joseph Naveh (1928–2011),
for his immense contribution to the study of magic bowls and amulets.

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PREFACE

The magic bowls in the Schøyen Collection form part of a vast and unique collection of written documents on various surfaces assembled from many parts of the globe and representing a large number of cultures, languages, religions, and periods.

Some statistical data may be quoted from the description given in the internet site of the Schøyen Collection (<http://www.schoyencollection.com>):

The whole collection comprises 13,717 manuscript items, including 2,269 volumes. 6,860 manuscript items are from the ancient period, 3300 BC–500 AD; 3,844 are from the medieval period, 500–1500; and 3,013 are post-medieval. There are manuscripts from 134 different countries and territories in 120 languages and 184 scripts.

For the incantation bowls in the Schøyen Collection, the following data, borrowed from the same site (with slight modifications), may be given:

The collection comprises 654 Aramaic incantation bowls and jugs from the Near East, dated between the fifth and the seventh or eighth centuries AD. In the majority of bowls there are written texts of spells and incantations against demons in several varieties of Aramaic. Bowls with Jewish Aramaic texts very often contain quotations from the Hebrew Bible. Some of these quotations are not attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and this makes them the earliest witnesses to the original text of the Old Testament.

The bowls are not only part of our common heritage and that of the Sasanian Empire but, more specifically, of the Jewish, Christian and Mandaic communities. The Jewish Aramaic bowls also have the earliest examples of *Hekhalot* or Jewish mystical texts, as well as part of the *Shema* prayer or extracts from the Mishna. We also find named Jewish rabbis and demons as well as information about Jewish legal practice.

The earlier bowls acquired for the collection carry numbers starting with MS 1911, MS 1927, MS 1928, MS 1929, MS 2046. In these groups, the bowls in different languages were put together. Subsequent numbers were designated for a specific language: MS 2053 contains Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowls; MS 2054 contains Mandaic; MS 2055 has Syriac; MS 2056 has Middle Persian, and MS 2057 comprises bowls with artificial scripts and drawings.

No study of this kind can succeed without the help and support of many people. I began work on the collection in 1995, when I spent a year at NIAS, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies, as member of a research group working on magic in Antiquity. The papers delivered at a conference at the end of that year in a volume with the title *Mesopotamian magic: textual, historical, and interpretive perspectives*, ed. by T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn, Groningen 1999, convey an idea of the work done by the group.

The Schøyen Collection of bowls was at first deposited temporarily at University College London to facilitate the scholarly work, carried out with Martin Schøyen's support. I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Mr Schøyen for the opportunity to study these fascinating documents and for his patience in the face of the very prolonged period of gestation that this work demanded.

Students from the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at University College London generously helped organize the bowls and facilitate my study of them. Dan Levene, now Reader in History at the University of Southampton and an expert in the Aramaic magic bowls, was my first assistant. He was followed in 1997 by Siam Bhayro. Dr Bhayro, now Senior Lecturer in Early Jewish Studies at the University of Exeter, has continued to be associated with this project in various ways up to the present. In 2008 I asked him to join the publication team. He has undertaken, to my great relief, the arduous charge of editing the complex text of this series of volumes, and I am deeply grateful to him.

Professor Mark Geller of University College London was of enormous help in getting the work started and in facilitating the process of studying the bowls. As head of the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at UCL, he helped with logistics and provided a congenial intellectual and physical environment; most of all, he contributed his great enthusiasm for the subject-matter of the magic bowls. I am deeply grateful for his friendship and kindness. Other heads of the department, the late Professor John Klier and his successor, Professor Ada Rapoport-Albert, were also kindly disposed to provide help and advice.

Wolfson College, Cambridge, provided warm hospitality to the present writer on a number of occasions. I worked there in 1988 on the Cambridge Geniza collection, and in 2000/1 on the Schøyen Collection. This enabled me to work on the magic bowls in a congenial scholarly environment. In particular I would like to thank Professors Nicholas de Lange and Geoffrey Khan for their friendship and help, as well as Professor Stefan Reif, former head of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit in the Cambridge University Library.

In 2001 I finished the first stage of the work, with most of the bowls in the three major languages transcribed and provided with provisional translations. The sheer size and complexity of the undertaking was quite daunting. I was, besides, engaged in other large-scale projects, which prevented me from devoting the necessary time to this edition.

Luckily there were, among the students who took part in my courses on the Aramaic incantation bowls at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, a number of young scholars who have since distinguished themselves in this and related fields. Dr James Nathan Ford, who is also an expert in Ugaritic, deserves particular mention. He has since proved himself to be an outstanding Semitic philologist and one of the foremost specialists in the study of the bowls. He possesses detailed knowledge of bowl texts, published and unpublished, more than any other person I know. He undertook to review and revise my readings and translations, and contributed numerous philological comments that have been embedded in the work. Beyond this, he has given this work its shape and structure. I am profoundly grateful to him.

Dr Matthew Morgenstern contributed to the Introduction a chapter on language issues in the bowls. His contribution, however, goes far deeper, as he read and commented on a considerable number of the bowls and has been frequently consulted regarding their language. His extraordinary sensitivity to the nuances of Aramaic has been the basis for many valuable suggestions concerning the reading and interpretation of the texts. In addition, in 2010, he volunteered to undertake the enormous task of taking fresh photographs of the entire Schøyen collection of bowls. The result was over 10,000 high-resolution digital images that significantly improved our ability to study the bowls and set a new standard for the documentation of incantation bowls. Dr Morgenstern's photographs are being published in the volumes of this series in conjunction with our editions. They are of a quality that will allow other scholars to check the readings proposed in our study without the necessity of going back to the originals.

Dr Naama Vilozy, who recently completed a Ph.D. thesis at the Hebrew University on the artistic aspects of the bowls, undertook to provide a chapter on this topic for the Introduction and also kindly put at our disposal her hand copies of the drawings that are on the bowls. Her thesis constitutes a pioneering attempt to interpret the illustrations on the bowls against the background of the artistic conventions of Sasanian Iran.

We consulted Dr Ada Yardeni on the script and the terminology to use in order to describe the various types of hand that may be distinguished on the bowls, and she gave us advice that can only come from an expert in this field.

I should also like to express my tribute to Joseph Naveh, with whom I worked for many years on amulets and magic bowls. I learned a great deal in the course of our joint work. May he rest in peace.

I feel an immense sense of gratitude to all the people mentioned above. Without their labour of love, their expertise and their dedication, this book would have never seen the light of day.

Finally, I would also like to express my indebtedness to Miriam, my wife, for the unfailing support she has given me over the years when I worked on these materials and often felt unsure whether I could ever bring the project to completion.

The plan of this publication of magic bowls in the Schøyen Collection consists of some nine volumes, distributed as follows: five volumes of bowls in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; two volumes in Mandaic; one volume in Syriac; and one volume for the rest of the collection, where bowls in Pahlavi and in artificial scripts and bowls that have no text will be published.

The introduction to this volume discusses selected topics relating to the study of the bowls in general, their language, their design, their illustrations, and their historical setting. The introductions to subsequent volumes will probably take up other topics.

With the present volume a new series is launched with E.J. Brill, called *Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity* (MRLA). We are planning to publish in this series texts and studies relating to ancient and medieval magic, besides studies in the religious literatures of the Mediterranean and in particular the Iranian environment.

The study of the Aramaic magic bowls is a matter of great interest and importance: they constitute the only direct epigraphical documents of Mesopotamia written mostly by some of the most important minority groups, Jews, Christians, Mandaeans, Manichaeans and others. Since the bowls are original manuscripts, they can teach us a great deal about the languages spoken (mostly varieties of Aramaic); popular religious practices, that take the form of magical texts; and certain aspects of social life, family structure and dwellings.

The last few decades have been a period of lively and fertile activity in the field of the magic bowls. Full publication of several large collections, and book-length editions of selected bowls from other large collections have appeared recently. To mention just a few major publications of this period: the publication of the Aramaic bowls in the British Museum (Segal 2000);¹ the publication of the Aramaic bowls in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome (Moriggi 2001); a selection of JBA bowls from the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection (Levene 2003a); the Aramaic bowls in the Hilprecht Collection in Jena (Müller-Kessler 2005). In addition, numerous lengthy articles containing editions of new bowls or studies of aspects of the language, contents and structure of the texts of bowls have been published (see the Bibliography under J.N. Ford, D. Levene, M. Morgenstern, C. Müller-Kessler, and S. Shaked).

Two large-scale surveys of Jewish magic, which deal *inter alia* with the magic bowls, have also appeared (Bohak 2008; Harari 2010), and additional books have been published as a result of conferences on themes connected to the magic of the bowls and on magic in Antiquity in general, among them the conferences convened by P. Schäfer and H.G. Kippenberg in Princeton (1997); G. Bohak and others in Jerusalem (see Bohak et al. 2011); and by I. Csepregi and C. Burnett in London (see Csepregi and Burnett 2012). This intellectual productivity has brought about a real revolution in the perception of the languages used on bowls, the structure of the magic texts, their contents, and their importance for the history of religion in Mesopotamia and in Palestine in Late Antiquity.

Shaul Shaked
Jerusalem

¹ Curiously carrying the title *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic incantation bowls in the British Museum*, as if Mandaic was not a dialect of Aramaic, and Syriac (another form of Aramaic) not deserving mention.

I began working on the bowls in the Schøyen Collection in 1997 as a doctoral student at the Hebrew University after taking a course on incantation bowls given by Prof. Shaked. The work, which mainly involved checking the transcriptions of the bowls from photographs, was intended as a supplement to my study of Ugaritic magic, but eventually developed into my main field of research. I am sincerely grateful for the continuing privilege of working with the leading scholar in the discipline on this remarkable corpus of texts.

Dr Siam Bhayro has been the catalyst that ensured that this volume finally went to press. Were it not for his prodigious efforts, tenacity and expertise, the publication of this book would likely have been delayed for years.

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr Matthew Morgenstern for his support and unfailing willingness to share with me his profound knowledge of the Aramaic language.

The decipherment and interpretation of many of the bowls in the Schøyen Collection has been facilitated by magic bowls in various private collections that I am editing. These have occasionally been cited in the present volume with the labels JNF, Wolfe, and Davidovitz. I would particularly like to thank Ms Lisa Marie Knothe, Mr Lenny Wolfe, Ms Ester Davidovitz and Mr Gil Davidovitz for access to bowls in their collections.

My work on the bowls was partially supported by a Kreitman post-doctoral fellowship (2002–2004) from Ben-Gurion University and a Lady Davis post-doctoral fellowship (2004–2005) from the Hebrew University and by Israel Science Foundation grant No. 1306/12 (2012–2013).

Finally, I wish to thank my mother for her love and support over the years.

James Nathan Ford
Petach Tiqwa

It has been a great privilege for me to work on this project for the past four years. I would like to express profound gratitude to Shaul Shaked, who has been the very best of mentors, both professionally and personally. I am also grateful to Miriam Shaked, who looked after me during my many research visits, showing great hospitality and patience, especially when I was “volcanoed” and ended up staying much longer than planned.

It has also been an honour to work with James Nathan Ford, from whom I continue to learn much. For the most part, the wider community of “bowls scholars” is very much like a family and, in many respects, I esteem James like an older brother—I hope I have not been too annoying a younger sibling. I would like to take this opportunity to thank some members of the extended family: Mark Geller, Dan Levene, Matthew Morgenstern, Marco Moriggi and Ortal-Paz Saar.

I was given two terms of research leave by the University of Exeter, which allowed me to devote myself to the preparation of this volume. I am grateful to my colleagues in Exeter, particularly those in the Department of Theology and Religion, who, despite being compelled to put up with me for the past six years, have been the epitome of grace and humour.

I am grateful to the British Academy, particularly Ken Emond, for a Small Research Grant (SG-52081), which funded my numerous visits to Israel among other things. I am particularly grateful to Geoffrey Khan for his support in this respect.

Our publisher, E.J. Brill, has been very supportive in establishing the new series devoted to the bowls and related literatures. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Jennifer Pavelko, Katelyn Chin and, more recently, Julia Berick for their support and patience with this and other projects.

Finally, I would like to express my thanks to Lisa, my wife, for her constant love and support.

Siam Bhayro
Exeter

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| 83. JBA 62 (MS 2053/242) | 269 |
| 84. JBA 63 (MS 2053/250) with label | 272 |
| 85. JBA 64 (MS 2053/256) | 275 |

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------|--|
| 1 Kgs | 1 Kings |
| 1QM | the War Scroll from Qumran Cave 1 |
| 2 Tim | 2 Timothy |
| abs. | absolute |
| act. | active |
| adj. | adjective |
| adv. | adverb |
| <i>af.</i> | <i>af'el</i> |
| <i>AHw</i> | reference to von Soden 1965–1981 |
| Akk. | Akkadian |
| AMB | text from Naveh and Shaked 1985 |
| <i>AMT</i> | reference to Thompson 1924 |
| Ar. | Arabic |
| Aram. | Aramaic |
| art. | article |
| BT | Babylonian Talmud |
| <i>CAD</i> | reference to <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , 1956–2011 |
| CAMIB | text in the British Museum, published in Segal 2000 |
| Cant | Song of Songs (<i>Canticum Canticorum</i>) |
| ch. | chapter |
| conj. | conjunction |
| <i>CSD</i> | reference to Payne-Smith 1903 |
| cstr. | construct |
| Dan | Daniel |
| Davidovitz | bowl in a private collection to be published by J.N. Ford |
| def. | definite |
| dem. | demonstrative |
| Deut | Deuteronomy |
| <i>DJBA</i> | reference to Sokoloff 2002 |
| DJD | Discoveries in the Judaean Desert |
| <i>DJPA</i> | reference to Sokoloff 1990 |
| <i>DMMPP</i> | reference to Durkin-Meisterernst 2004 |
| <i>DSA</i> | reference to Tal 2000 |
| DSS | Dead Sea Scrolls |
| du. | dual |
| encl. | enclitic |
| <i>etpa.</i> | <i>etpa'al</i> |
| Ex | Exodus |
| Ez | Ezekiel |
| fem. | feminine |
| Ge. | Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic) |
| Gen | Genesis |
| Giṭ | Giṭṭin |
| Gr. | Greek |
| Gs | Ginza smala (Left Ginza) |
| <i>GTO</i> | reference to Cook 2008 |
| Hab | Habakkuk |
| <i>haf.</i> | <i>haf'el</i> |
| Heb. | Hebrew |
| <i>hif.</i> | <i>hif'il</i> |

| | |
|--------------|--|
| <i>hof.</i> | <i>hof'al</i> |
| IM | text in the Iraq Museum |
| impf. | imperfect |
| impv. | imperative |
| inf. | infinitive |
| int. | interjection |
| Is | Isaiah |
| <i>itpa.</i> | <i>itpa'al</i> |
| <i>itpe.</i> | <i>itpe'el</i> |
| JBA | Jewish Babylonian Aramaic |
| Jer | Jeremiah |
| JNF | bowl in an anonymous private collection to be published by J.N. Ford |
| JPA | Jewish Palestinian Aramaic |
| K. | <i>ketiv</i> |
| Kgs | Kings |
| l./ll. | line/lines |
| Lane | reference to Lane 1863–1893 |
| Lev | Leviticus |
| LevR | Leviticus Rabbah |
| lit. | literally |
| LXX | the Septuagint |
| M | text in the Moussaieff Collection |
| m | mishna |
| Mand. | Mandaic |
| masc. | masculine |
| <i>MD</i> | reference to Drower and Macuch 1963 |
| Meg | Megilla |
| Men | Menaḥot |
| M-K | text from Müller-Kessler 2005 |
| MP | Middle Persian |
| MS | text in the Schøyen Collection |
| MSF | text from Naveh and Shaked 1993 |
| MT | Massoretic Text |
| MTKG | text from Schäfer and Shaked 1994–1999 |
| Mur | text from Wadi Murabba'at |
| n./nn. | note/notes (in main section); noun (in Glossary) |
| <i>ni.</i> | <i>nif'al</i> |
| NP | New Persian |
| Num | Numbers |
| num. | numeral |
| obj. | object/objective |
| OIran. | Old Iranian |
| p. | person |
| <i>pa.</i> | <i>pa'el</i> |
| Pa. | Parthian |
| part. | particle |
| pass. | passive |
| <i>pe.</i> | <i>pe'al</i> |
| Pes | Pesaḥim |
| pf. | perfect |
| <i>pi.</i> | <i>pi'el</i> |
| pl. | plural |
| poss. | possessive |
| prep. | preposition |
| pron. | pronoun/pronominal |
| Prov | Proverbs |

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Ps | Psalms |
| PT | Palestinian Talmud |
| ptc. | participle |
| <i>pu.</i> | <i>pu^{al}</i> |
| Q. | <i>qerê</i> |
| rel. | relative |
| SA | Samaritan Aramaic |
| Sam | Samuel |
| Sanh | Sanhedrin |
| SD | text in the Samir Dehays Collection |
| sg. | singular |
| Shab | Shabbat |
| <i>shaf.</i> | <i>shaf^{el}</i> |
| SL | reference to Sokoloff 2009 |
| Soṭ | Soṭah |
| s.v. | under the word (<i>sub voce</i>) |
| Syr. | Syriac |
| TA | Targumic Aramaic |
| Taan | Ta'anit |
| TJ | Targum Jonathan |
| TO | Targum Onqelos |
| TPs-J | Targum Pseudo-Jonathan |
| Ug. | Ugaritic |
| vb. | verb |
| Wolfe | bowl in a private collection to be published by J.N. Ford |
| Zeb | Zebahim |
| Zech | Zechariah |

LIST OF OTHER BOWLS

(in addition to AMB, CAMIB, Davidovitz, JNF, M, M-K, Montgomery, MSF, SD and Wolfe):

| | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| Ford & Ten-Ami | published in Ford and Ten-Ami 2011/2 |
| Geller B | published in Geller 1980 |
| Gordon G | published in Gordon 1934c |
| Gordon H | published in Gordon 1937 |
| IM 9737 | published in Gordon 1934a |
| IM 11113 | published in Gordon 1941 |
| K3449 | published in Geller 1980 |
| Moriah Bowl I | published in Gordon 1984 |

SIGLA

| | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|
| [-] | missing letter |
| [---] | missing letters |
| [xxx] | restored letters |
| { xxx } | superfluous letters |
| ⟨ xxx ⟩ | scribal omission |
| ^o ⌘ | partially preserved letter |

INTRODUCTION

The Historical, Literary and Religious Context

Magic texts written on earthenware bowls in several dialects of Aramaic form the object of the present study; they constitute a peculiar phenomenon that is limited in place and time.¹ We can be certain that they were produced during the sixth and seventh centuries CE. One may suppose that the practice began somewhat earlier, in the fifth or possibly even the fourth century CE, and may have continued until the early eighth century CE.² The area where they were used appears to have been mainly Mesopotamia. Some bowls have been found in the western part of what is nowadays Iran, in the area of Khuzistan, perhaps more specifically in Susa, one of the centres of Persian administration since the Achaemenian period, and still an important town under the Sasanians.³ This is not entirely surprising, considering that both regions were part of the Sasanian empire at the time.

It is not easy to understand the sudden appearance of this practice in the Sasanian period, or its cessation in the early Islamic period. The texts, written on the surface of the bowls, are not conspicuously different from those produced for similar purposes on other surfaces, most commonly on sheets of metal (lead, bronze, silver or gold), known to us from the western regions, Palestine and Syria (and, in the case of Mandaic, from Mesopotamia). The main discernible difference is that the texts on the bowls are usually written in a much larger ductus and tend to be more extensive. This is because the surface of a bowl provides more room for writing (with the exception of leather amulets, of which we have some rare specimens).⁴ In addition, there are obvious differences in the type of Aramaic used in these two main regions, Syria-Palestine and Babylonia, and there are also differences as regards the prevalent cultural milieu, Hellenism and Roman culture in Palestine and its environs, as against an Iranian-Semitic syncretism in Babylonia. An obvious difference in the mode of use of bowls as against amulets on metal sheets is the fact that the latter are easy to fit into a small container that can be carried on the person of

¹ Some of the following observations apply primarily to the Jewish incantation bowls. The Mandaean and Christian bowls deserve a separate study. An extensive discussion of the Babylonian magic bowls may be found in Harari 2005, 59–82; see also Shaked 2005b; Bohak 2008, 183–193. For a historical perspective, see Morony 2003 and Morony 2007.

² For a recent survey of the various proposals for dating the incantation bowls, based on archaeological and/or paleographical considerations, see Faraj 2010, 17–18 and the bibliography cited there. A number of bowls bearing specific dates have recently come to light and are being prepared for publication by S. Shaked and J.N. Ford. The dates range from 545 CE [1 Adar II, 856] (JNF 104) to 611 CE [28 Sivan, 922] (JNF 158). In the Schøyen Collection one finds the dates 573/4 CE [Kislev, 885] (MS 2053/284) and 580 CE [8 Adar II, 891] (MS 2053/19). No bowls with dates after the Islamic conquest of Iraq (beginning in 633 CE) are presently extant, but two bowls written partly in Arabic have recently come to light, one of which can be dated with certainty to the reign of Mu'awiya (661–680 CE). The bowls are being prepared for publication by J.N. Ford. Both were prepared for a certain Farrokhzād son of Kumay, who is otherwise known to have possessed a considerable number of well executed bowls in JBA, Syriac and Mandaic. One of his Syriac bowls was recently published in Abousamra 2010. A Mandaic bowl possessed by an individual with this name was reedited in Müller-Kessler 1996. As the bowl was acquired early in the twentieth century, it may not have belonged to the same person, but an unpublished Mandaic bowl in a private collection names our Farrokhzād along with other known members of his family. Others written in JBA and Syriac are being prepared for publication by J.N. Ford. The quantity and quality of the bowls that this individual owned are eloquent proof that the custom of writing incantation bowls still flourished during the first decades after the Islamic conquest of Iraq.

³ These are mostly conserved in the Louvre Museum, Paris, as I was told by Professor Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, whom I wish to thank (SS). A search conducted some years ago in the Louvre collection did not succeed in locating them. For additional references to incantation bowls excavated in Iran, see Gordon 1951, 306.

⁴ See, e.g., Gignoux 1987, where three Syriac texts are published. They are made for one client, a woman by the name of Khwarr-weh-zād (thus read by Gignoux, but this could also be interpreted as Khwarrōzād, with the *he* serving as a *mater lectionis*), nicknamed Yazdān-zādag, daughter of Dēnaq. The editor assigns these texts conjecturally to sixth or seventh-century Iran (Gignoux 1987, 2).

its owner or, in some cases, stuck in a niche on a wall (as perhaps was done with the amulets found in synagogues in Palestine), while bowls can only be used in a stationary position, most commonly buried under the ground, often under the threshold of a house.

One reason for the popularity of bowls as a surface for writing spells in Babylonia must have been the fact that the material from which bowls were produced—clay—was handy, inexpensive and easy to inscribe, as opposed to other materials that were sometimes used for writing, such as leather, metal or stone. Parchment may indeed have also frequently been used, despite its relatively high cost, but only a few specimens from this general period have survived.⁵ The climate of Babylonia, which was not favourable for the preservation of leather, may be responsible for the small number preserved. A considerable number of metal amulets from Babylonia have survived, but these are invariably in Mandaic.⁶ Amulets on gems or stones are quite plentiful, but they are for the most part devoid of substantial text. Only very few inscribed gems have come down to us.⁷

These considerations are valid for the period preceding the fifth century CE as well as for the one following the seventh century CE. They can hardly explain the great surge in the use of bowls in the period under consideration. It is true that the Sasanian era was one in which there was much religious debate concerning received religious traditions, especially with regard to questions concerning the eschatological period and life after death.⁸ This probing was chiefly attested within the Zoroastrian community, but Jewish and Christian thinkers were also preoccupied with such questions. It was out of these debates that a new Zoroastrian orthodoxy emerged.⁹ Among the Jews, the Babylonian schools were at their height. Although these schools were largely concerned with the legal definitions of the religious injunctions, there were undercurrents of religious fervour, and a strong sense of the presence of spirits and demons that had considerable effect on human life. There was also a tendency towards visionary mysticism in the form of journeys to the upper worlds. In Christianity, the basic tenets of the faith were formulated, and the major theological points were discussed. Magic is typically concerned with the more intimate and immediate concerns of the individual, and reflects minor frictions within society. It addresses the worries of the individual concerning problems of health, the assault of malevolent powers, or a lack of control over one's destiny, rather than the big religious issues. Nevertheless, it seems possible to speculate that the prevailing religious unrest may have served as a breeding ground for a new style of magical practice, which took its shape in the language and in the textual expression of the bowls.

The production of incantation bowls stopped towards the end of the seventh century CE or shortly thereafter. This came not long after the Arab conquest of Mesopotamia and the imposition of Islam as the dominant religion. As Islam was opposed to magic, it seems to follow that the Muslim authorities would have forcibly stopped the fabrication of incantation bowls. Yet it does not appear likely that an Islamic decree was issued against the writing of magic bowls, as a result of which Jews, Mandaean, Christians, as well as Muslims, stopped producing them all at once.¹⁰ We have no knowledge of such an edict, and of course the term "incantation bowl" is not even attested in Arabic documents from that time. Islam was indeed officially opposed to magic, but so were also the older religions of revelation: Judaism, Christianity, Mandaism, as well as Zoroastrianism. The strong opposition to magic in these religions never prevented people from writing what we call magical texts. Instead, they avoided terminology

⁵ See Gignoux 1987 and Naveh 1997.

⁶ Most of these amulets are made of lead. A Mandaean gold amulet was published in Müller-Kessler 1998.

⁷ An eclectic collection of gems is given in Spier 2007; see also Gyselen 1995.

⁸ See the remarks in Shaked 1994a, 27–51.

⁹ The Zoroastrian writings in Pahlavi are, as a rule, undated, but are mostly assigned to the ninth or tenth centuries CE—see Cereti 2001, 9. At the same time, there is no doubt that many of them contain much older material.

¹⁰ In addition to the incantation bowls discussed above in n. 2, we know of a small number of metal bowls inscribed in Arabic from the very early Islamic period—see Canaan 1923; Maddison et al. 1997; Kriss and Kriss-Heinrich 1960/2.

such as “magic” or “witchcraft” when describing their practices and called their texts by a variety of appellations which implicitly rejected any imputation of sorcery. Terms such as “magic” (Heb. *qesamin*, Ar. *siḥr*), “witchcraft” (Heb. *kešafim*, Aram. *ḥiršē*, *maʿbadē*) were essentially pejorative; they could as a rule be applied only to evil-doers, followers of other religions or cults. Adherents of these religions would rather speak of amulets, invocations, healing and protection, and would surely object to the idea that these texts formed part of a practice forbidden by religion.

In Islam, similar practices, which involved the adjuration of angels and demons and the writing of amulets, including a type of magic bowl,¹¹ eventually developed and flourished without any noticeable religious prohibition. Muslims in time produced a wealth of literature and artefacts, but some time had to pass before this new approach to the practice of magic to develop and to find its own new, Islamic, voice.¹² It may be assumed that in the early period of Islam there reigned uncertainty as to whether the production of invocations to angels and spirits would be received well by the leaders of the Islamic state, and at some point this may have stifled the inclination to produce such artefacts, eventually leading to the discontinuation of the practice. This is the best guess we can come up with as to why the writing of Aramaic spells on earthenware bowls ceased more or less abruptly at the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries. The matter certainly merits further investigation. The spells themselves, however, were not entirely lost, and many of the same magical motifs and literary forms, and even on occasion the very same spells, turn up centuries later in the Cairo Geniza.¹³

If this approach has any merit, it may be noted that it associates the appearance and decline of the practice of bowl magic with two crucial points in the religious history of the Near East: the consolidation of Christianity as a major religious movement, accompanied by the slow disintegration and eventual disappearance of the cultural world of the ancient Near East;¹⁴ and, at the other end of the period, is the dramatic spread of a new religious order, that of Islam, whose particular form of powerful monotheism may have had something to do with the fall of a distinctive magical practice. The coincidence of these large developments with the fairly modest changes in the field of magic may not be entirely fortuitous.

Another point may be mentioned. During the Sasanian period a movement towards redacting and producing religious texts is discernible within the different religious cultures in Babylonia, and a wave of awareness of the contrast between oral and written traditions comes to the fore. In Judaism, the biblical canon had for a long time enjoyed a canonical status; it existed in writing and in accessible copies, and could easily be quoted from memory or from scrolls, as evidenced, among other things, by the magic bowls. This was achieved at the cost of eliminating several other corpora that were

¹¹ There is little similarity between the modest-looking earthenware incantation bowls of the Sasanian period and the more elaborate metal bowls of the Islamic period. This regards appearance, contents and application. Islamic magic bowls are made of metal, usually bronze, and are densely inscribed with Quranic verses and magical symbols or combinations of numbers. They are usually called *tāsāt al-raǧǧa* “quake (or shudder) bowls”, or *tāsāt al-ṭarba* “sadness (or joy) bowls”. The bowls are said to have been filled with water and sometimes with small iron keys, and given to a patient to drink for healing. See Canaan 1923; Kriss and Kriss-Heinrich 1960/2, II.126–137 and plates 100–110; Zwemer 1920, 179–184; Spoer 1935; Spoer 1938. The earliest recorded appearance of such cups is in the twelfth century, although at least one is known from a much earlier date (much different in appearance from the usual Islamic cups)—see Savage-Smith in Maddison et al. 1997, I:72–105. A group of three brass magic bowls inscribed in Judeo-Arabic, presumably of recent fabrication, was published in Reich 1937/8; see also Shaked 1983.

We also have anthropological reports of a medium, usually a prepubescent boy, made to look at a smooth surface, such as water, oil or a mirror, under conditions of artificially created tension. The medium reports visions that come to him while looking at the surface. See, e.g., Naveh and Shaked 1993, 173–174; Bilu 1993, 83–85; Fodor 1994. In many reports this mirror-like surface was created by an ink stain on the boy’s own palm, but it seems conceivable that metal or wooden cups would have been used for the same purpose.

¹² On Muslim magical literature, see Ullmann 1972.

¹³ For the relevance of the Geniza magical texts for the incantation bowls, see Naveh and Shaked 1985; Naveh and Shaked 1993; Levene and Bohak 2012.

¹⁴ Geller 2004b, 38, suggests that the appearance of the magic bowls may be due to the closing of the ancient Mesopotamian temples under the Sasanians and the resulting loss of Mesopotamian medical lore.

competing for canonical status. Some of them were eliminated from Judaism alone; this applies to most of the Apocrypha, which survived within Christianity. Others were entirely obliterated; this applies, for example, to the writings of the group that was centred around the Dead Sea, the existence of which is now known only from chance discoveries. It may be postulated that there were several other groups that did not survive the imposition of the orthodox canon. At the same time, a new canon was emerging: an oral Torah was beginning to circulate, and some of it became part of the liturgy or embedded in the Midrash and Aggadah, portions of which are extant in the magic bowls.¹⁵ Although the doctrine of two separate canons, a written one next to a binding oral text, was being formulated and constantly repeated,¹⁶ it is clear that this question only arose because there were internal pressures in Judaism to have the so-called oral law transformed into a written code, as is witnessed, for example, by the systematic arrangement of the Mishna, already before the Sasanian period.

Society in general, in Babylonia as well as in other parts of the Middle East, and Jewish society in particular, was highly aware of the authority and prestige of written documents, and people made constant use of writing, for example, in formulating deeds of sale between two parties over landed property, or in concluding or severing matrimonial ties by a *ketubba* “marriage contract” or a *get* “deed of divorce” respectively—two situations where a written document is mandatory by Jewish law practically since biblical times. The rabbinical authorities resisted the pressure that no doubt was felt to extend the use of writing to the field of oral law. In fact, explicit barriers were set up *against* writing down the newly emerging law (in the form of *Mishna*) and the learned debates that led to the formulation and justification of legal rules (*Gemara*), as well as the exposition and exegesis of the text of the Torah (which took the form of *Midrash*). Eventually the resistance broke down, and the canon of oral law joined that of the written law to form a whole complex of scriptures, all written down, but retaining up to the present day the old designations of “oral” against “written”.

Several leading scholars have discussed over the past century and a half various aspects of this peculiar situation. At the outset it seems hardly credible that an enormous body of literature, such as that contained in the two massive collections of the Talmud as well as the adjunct literature of the Midrash, could be retained and transmitted by heart, without the aid of written documents. And yet, it has been shown by a close study of the sources that this is indeed what happened: the Talmudic literature was indeed taught orally, memorised and survived over a period of several centuries before it was committed to writing. Even when the oral Torah was available in book form, the practice of memorising it was continued in part even up to the present.¹⁷ Some scholars have maintained that there is no evidence for a reliance on written notes for the transmission of this literature, while others are inclined to concede that the memorisation process was accompanied by a sporadic use of written texts.¹⁸

The cardinal point that must be made is that this orality is imposed on a society that was to a large extent literate, not necessarily in the sense that most people could read and write, but in the sense that reliance on written documents was widespread and even mandatory, and that a strong literate class formed part of the society. It is noteworthy that even those who possessed the skill of literacy were *forbidden* to use it in certain aspects of their religious life. While the scriptures *must be read from a written source*, the rabbinical deliberations and pronouncements *were only supposed to be recited and heard*. The prohibition on writing applied only to the genre of *halakhot*, while the compositional genre

¹⁵ See sections I.1 and I.2.1, as well as the discussion of mishnaic quotations below (pp. 22–23).

¹⁶ See Sussmann 2005 (the essence of this study had already been formulated by Sussmann long before its date of publication); see also Elman 1999.

¹⁷ The two major studies devoted to this question are mentioned in the preceding footnote; they contain a rich bibliography of sources and of earlier scholarly discussions.

¹⁸ Sussmann 2005 asserts the exclusive dominance of orality in the transmission of the Talmud, while Elman 1999 and Naeh 1997 are willing to concede that there were occasional cases when writing was used, without however affecting the principle of oral study and transmission.

known as *midrash* was apparently exempt from this restriction, as we learn from the study of Naeh with regard to *Midrash torat kohanim*.¹⁹ This was a prohibition meant to create a sharp boundary between one type of revelation, the Torah, and another, rabbinical teachings. Thus religious laws were classified as either *de-ʾorayta* “of the Torah” or *de-rabbanan* “of the Rabbis”. The idea was to drive home a notion of the hierarchy of the sources of divine revelation, to put them in two separate compartments. With the last of the Prophets one type of human communication with the divine was over, and another one was introduced, one based on study and speculation. The means chosen to implement this distinction was to separate textuality from oral transmission. As with many such decrees, there were some exceptions that crept in and disrupted the harmony, making it frustrating for later research to understand how the system worked. Thus, there was no ban on writing in many fields of activity. The fields of economy and family relations were based on written documents. In magic one was free to write texts, even if based on quotations from liturgical and mishnaic texts. Liturgical texts may have been put down in writing for synagogue use, although we have no direct evidence of this; and it is not unlikely that people kept private notes of discussions in sessions of study, which may or may not have been used afterwards in compiling the Talmud. But an absolute (theoretical) interdiction applied to writing down the “oral Torah”. This transmission dichotomy was observed as a cultic requirement, not as a rational code of behaviour. Paradoxically, despite the clear doctrinal hierarchy between the written and the oral law, the oral canon attracted greater application and its study often enjoyed higher status than that of the written scripture.

Christianity never had this problem: the Christian attitude can be described, on the contrary, as an acute reaction to the dichotomy of textual revelation and oral expansion of the texts. What Jesus spoke (as did several Jewish sages in his time) *had* to be put down in writing, in the form of gospels. The climax of the history of revelation according to the Christian perception came after the closure of the Old Testament with the advent of Jesus, followed by the institution of a new scripture, one that was given the same degree of sanctity as the Old Testament. There was no room for a distinction between written and oral scriptures (apart from the distinction between canonical and extra-canonical, apocryphal writings).

Neither did Islam have to grapple with a split revelation in the same manner. The book of Islamic revelations, the Qurʾān, was theoretically contemporary with the orally transmitted body of *ḥadīth*, the sayings of the Prophet, and the two went to some extent hand in hand, although there was a hierarchy of sanctity and authority that placed the Qurʾān high above the *ḥadīth*. Both were orally transmitted texts, but the Qurʾān was recognised as a book with divine authority, while the *ḥadīth* was a floating and loosely-structured text, partly under traditional scrutiny for inauthentic sayings.

The only major contemporary religion that had a comparable situation of a double scripture with an oral-textual split was Zoroastrianism, with its distinction between Avesta and *zand*.²⁰ The Zoroastrians are perhaps the only major religious group that did not have an official *written* scripture at the beginning of the Sasanian period (in the third century CE). They nevertheless based themselves explicitly on what we may term ‘oral scriptures’ and claimed divine authority for their sacred texts: their religious canon was a book, even if it was not written down and was not recited from a written source. The internal pressure within the community was no doubt already in operation to transfer their orally transmitted book into a proper written text. Indeed, within about two centuries, the Avesta was going to take shape. An alphabet was especially devised for transmitting it, and a body of exegesis, *zand*, was being composed, orally at first, in order to accompany it. This exegesis was eventually recorded in writing. The analogy to the Jewish system of a two-layer system of scriptures is striking, although there is no evidence for a ban on writing in Zoroastrianism.²¹

¹⁹ Naeh 1997, 506.

²⁰ See Shaked (forthcoming).

²¹ For further discussions of these points, see Shaked 1994a and Shaked (forthcoming).

In Manichaeism, scriptures were not only central, ubiquitous, and forming the very basis of the religion, their written character was essential. Apart from scriptures, there were also liturgical pieces that circulated in written form. The very idea of orally transmitted revelation was vigorously rejected by Mani (third century CE), the founder of the religion. Orality, according to Mani, lies at the root of a religion's corruptibility and harmful diversity.²²

The Mandaeans at this time were probably still engaged in developing their written canon of scriptures, but it seems evident (for example from reading the magical literature of the Mandaeans) that their religion was already based on sacred texts, possibly available in a written form. Unfortunately, we have little information about the history or chronology of the Mandaean scriptures, and the origins of this community are obscure.²³

The emergence of the magic bowls in Babylonia, and, in parallel fashion, of the inscribed metal amulets in the area of Palestine, may be understood as part of this movement of writing down texts of religious and spiritual content. Although magic texts were occasionally written down during the First Temple Period in Palestine,²⁴ those were not texts composed as spells; they contained, as a rule, biblical quotations. By the end of the Second Temple Period, however, we find that writing down spells was part of the activity of the people of Qumran.²⁵ In the period under consideration, a movement was afoot for writing down handbooks and collections of amuletic texts in the form of books.

The magic texts were different from other religious texts in the sense that they were not meant to form a corpus or a canon, and that they did not circulate widely nor were they recited publicly. The spells on amulets or bowls were written individually according to need and in answer to a specific order placed by a client and normally executed by a professional. The latter—we may refer to such a person as the magician or the practitioner—used his stock of spells and selected one (or several) from among those most appropriate for the occasion at hand. There was one aspect of his activity that came close to the production of a written text for a canon: that is when the practitioner set down in writing a handbook of spells.

The manuscript collections of spells have the status of books, but they differ from other books by not being publicly accessible in the same manner, and most often they were restricted in circulation to the limited circle of professional practitioners. We have a certain number of such books from the period we are discussing: *The Book of Mysteries* or *Sefer ha-razim*,²⁶ *The Sword of Moses*,²⁷ and some smaller texts.²⁸ Several books of magic recipes, which may have originated in the pre-Islamic period, may also be listed here.²⁹ In a sense, the *Hekhalot* compositions also fall within the same category, although their genre classification is less solidly assured. All of these books seem to have been composed in

²² See Puech 1949, 66–67, with endnotes 260–261.

²³ The pendulum has swung between an assertion of Palestinian origin and a more recent claim of Babylonian origin—see Lidzbarski 1925, x; Rudolph 1968/9; Macuch 1965b; Müller-Kessler 2004. It must be noted that, in the discussion of the question of origins, elements such as the origin of the Mandaic script, or the linguistic classification of the Mandaic dialect, have been given undue weight. Both of these aspects of Mandaic culture are clearly eastern. But this argument has little relevance to their origin. One need only compare Jewish Babylonian Aramaic: an eastern Aramaic dialect, despite the clearly established historical origin of its speakers from Palestine. Mandaic mythology shows a mixture of Palestinian and Babylonian elements. This may direct us to a possible solution of the question of origins: a Palestinian gnostic group that came to Babylonia and merged with a local group.

²⁴ For a prominent example, see the Ketef Hinnom amulets from Jerusalem, where the entire text consists of the Priestly Blessing from the Pentateuch—see Yardeni 1991; Barkay 1992; Barkay et al. 2004.

²⁵ See the fragments edited in Naveh 1998 (= Naveh 2009, 167–176). A survey of this material is in Bohak 2008, 105–114; Harari 2010, 200–201.

²⁶ For the Hebrew text, see Margaliot 1966; for an edition with German translation, see Rebiger and Schäfer 2009; for an English translation, see Morgan 1983.

²⁷ See Harari 1997; Harari 2012.

²⁸ E.g. *Havdala de-Rabbi Aqiva*—see Scholem 1980/1; *Pišra de-Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa*—see Tocci 1986.

²⁹ AMB, Geniza 2, 5, 6; MSF, Geniza 9, 11 (belongs together with MTKG 3, 69, pp. 145–152; cf. Davila 2001, 112f.), 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28; most of the texts in MTKG 1–3. See Bohak 2005.

Palestine, but there may have also existed Babylonian books of the same genre which have not survived.³⁰ These handbooks, like the amulets and bowl texts themselves, possessed a pragmatic orientation and were in principle reserved for the use of specialists. They were not texts meant to be studied by the general public. Although they were based on mystical visions and supported by a theoretical view of the supernatural, they were dedicated to the task of presenting an applied aspect of the science from which they were derived. In this sense they should not be viewed as part of “normal” religious literature, but may be compared, as far as their utilitarian approach is concerned, to the handbooks of liturgy, the prayer-books, which aimed to facilitate the choice of texts to be used in the synagogue or church service and to establish the order of the texts.³¹ The magic handbooks were, therefore, part of a certain type of religious practice. Their main distinction from the prayer-book type of composition lay in the fact that they were partly or wholly private or esoteric.

A prominent part of the texts is devoted to verses quoted from the Bible. The magic literature that was being formed in the period we are reviewing is in a sense an exegesis and expansion of biblical literature, engaging in an interesting dialogue with other essays in interpretation of the biblical texts, with the Talmudic and extra-Talmudic *aggada*, and with the body of quasi-mythical legends concerning the Jewish sages. It may be assumed that non-verbal and non-textual magic continued to be used. The form that this magic took in writing was by drawings and symbols; the form it took in practice was by performing certain acts and gestures (but our knowledge of ancient performances is naturally limited). What distinguishes magic of the early centuries of the Christian era is the great surge in the use of written texts as a major vehicle of communication with the invisible powers. In the case of the texts with which we are here concerned, this is done in most cases in order to achieve utilitarian aims.

It should be stressed that, as far as we can tell, no particular tension can be noticed in the literature of the period around the practice of incantation texts, whether bowls or portable amulets, in any of the religions which are relevant for our study, namely, Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism or Mandaeism, and later on also Islam, after it had become an established religion.³² Doubts are occasionally expressed as to the efficacy of such practices or the sincerity of the practitioners, but there is hardly any attempt to impute to them the harsh judgement of the scriptures concerning witchcraft. On the Jewish side, although there are several statements expressing disapproval of witchcraft in the rabbinical sources (in addition to the sharp repudiation of such practices in the Hebrew Bible),³³ there seems to be no reason to suppose that the incantation bowls were identified by the rabbinical leaders of the Jewish communities as belonging to the phenomenon of witchcraft; this would have caused them to be strictly forbidden.³⁴ On the contrary, we occasionally find magic bowls that were prepared specifically for individuals with the title *Rav*.³⁵ We may reasonably assume that the practice of writing texts on bowls could be described as a way of appealing to the higher powers, such as God and his angels, for help with pressing human needs, mainly health problems and sexual fears, both attributed largely to demons.³⁶

³⁰ We have some allusions to Hekhalot compositions in Babylonia; see the discussion below (pp. 23–27).

³¹ Prayer-books are, however, only known from the late Gaonic period, from the tenth century CE on.

³² For convenience, we shall apply to these religions the general term “religions of revelation”, for want of a better all-embracing label.

³³ See Blau 1898; Veltri 1997; Bohak 2008; Harari 2010.

³⁴ A detailed discussion of the rabbinical attitudes towards witchcraft and their ambiguities can be found in chapter six of Bohak 2008 (see especially 422–425 in the summary).

³⁵ See, for example, Ford and Ten-Ami 2011/2.

³⁶ Requests for love or popularity are found more commonly in amulets than in bowl texts—for surveys of the material, see Harari 2010, 162–167; Saar 2008. Requests for business success (e.g. Levene and Bhayro 2005/6), and the cursing of a specific human opponent (e.g. Levene 2013) are attested but are much less common in the incantation bowls. References to legal battles are exceedingly rare in the bowls, in contrast to the Greco-Roman *defixiones* literature, where such references are quite prominent. For the latter literature, see Gager 1992, 116–150. Jewish amulets, however, do indicate this concern, for example, an unpublished gold amulet in the possession of Alexander L. Wolfe, to be published shortly by S. Shaked and R. Elitzur-Leiman.

Put in these terms, the production of these magic texts could arguably be regarded as an exercise in piety.³⁷

Terms Designating “Bowl”, “Amulet” and “Spell”

The object on which the incantation is written, i.e. the bowl, is referred to internally, in the language of the incantations, in several ways. It is sometimes called **qmy**’ “amulet”,³⁸ a word which seems etymologically derived from a root that denotes the practice of binding an amulet to the arm.³⁹ Quite often a reference to the vessel itself is used: **ks**’ “bowl”,⁴⁰ and sometimes a reference to the object as a written document: **ktb**’.⁴¹

In general, however, the self-designations that occur in the bowls do not allude to the object which is being used, but to its function or purpose. The action performed by the bowl is sometimes referred to with a general term such as **wbd**’ “(magical) act”⁴² or **rz**’ “mystery”.⁴³ The designation may specifically refer to the aggressive action effected by the spell against the maleficent agents, such as **mwmt**’ “oath”,⁴⁴ **šmt**’ “ban”,⁴⁵ **kybš**’ “suppression”,⁴⁶ or **qyblh**’ “countercharm”,⁴⁷ or it may refer to the beneficial effect desired for the client, such as **’swt**’ “healing”,⁴⁸ used in an introductory phrase to a spell. Strings of such appellations are sometimes found, as in: **hdyn qmy’h whdyn ’sr’ whdyn rz**’ “this amulet, and this binding, and this mystery”.⁴⁹

The incantation is sometimes alluded to metaphorically as **pwr**’ “a lot (that is cast)”, a loanword from Akkadian in Aramaic,⁵⁰ **ḥtm**’ “seal”,⁵¹ or **gyt**’ “legal deed”, or more particularly “deed of divorce”,⁵² where this is an appropriate term for the type of spell that is being used.

The drawings occurring on bowls are sometimes referred to as **šlym**’ “image”.⁵³

*The Structure of an Incantation*⁵⁴

The text that is written on a bowl is called, for our purposes, an *incantation*. It consists normally of several different parts. Most prominent among them is a *spell*, or quite frequently several spells. Spells

³⁷ In a similar manner, Doutté 1909, 52–57, shows the close resemblance between marabouts, the Muslim saintly men in modern North Africa, and sorcerers, who engage in witchcraft. Nevertheless he argues that the marabouts operate within the religion and in the name of Allāh, while sorcerers act beyond the limits of Islam.

³⁸ E.g. JBA 4:2 (see the Glossary for further attestations).

³⁹ The verb is not attested in Aramaic with this meaning, but this connection can be made on the basis of Mishnaic Hebrew—see *DJPA*, 496; Levene 2003a, 85. In JBA, the same root appears as a denominative verb **’ytqmy**’ in the *itpe*. stem with the meaning “to prepare an amulet”. See Ford 2006, 210 and contrast Levene 2003, 85. For additional references, see Levene 2003, 152. *SL*, 1378 similarly analyses Syr. **qm**’ (*pe.*) as a denominative verb “to make an amulet”.

⁴⁰ E.g. JBA 45:6.

⁴¹ E.g. MS 1927/18:1.

⁴² E.g. JBA 20:13.

⁴³ E.g. JBA 26:2.

⁴⁴ E.g. JBA 60:9.

⁴⁵ E.g. JBA 27:1.

⁴⁶ E.g. MS 1927/62:1.

⁴⁷ E.g. MS 1928/22:8.

⁴⁸ E.g. JBA 1:2.

⁴⁹ MS 2053/173:3–4.

⁵⁰ E.g. JBA 16:1; see *DJBA*, 891.

⁵¹ E.g. MS 2053/39:5.

⁵² E.g. JBA 13:2.

⁵³ E.g. MS 2053/229:3, 4, 15, 16.

⁵⁴ We use here the terminology proposed in Shaked 2011.

are the blocks of text that come up as central components of the magical expression, and that are found as a rule in other incantations as well. The incantation also incorporates a number of additional phrases that serve various purposes: opening phrases, linking segments, concluding formulae, quotations from the scriptures, and more. Not every incantation contains a spell, but most of the fully-developed incantations do.

Single-Spell Incantations

Here is the structure of a typical single-spell incantation. The spell occurs in section 4 of this incantation. It is preceded by introductory sections that invoke several powers and establish the identity of the client, thus making the otherwise neutral spell something that is relevant to a specific person in a given situation. The spell is followed by phrases, consisting of *nomina barbara* and a reference to a signet ring engraved with the great ineffable name, that reinforce the power and authority of the incantation.

JBA 34

| <i>Section number</i> | <i>Description</i> | <i>Internal divisions; the function of the segments</i> | <i>The text in English⁵⁵</i> |
|-----------------------|--|---|--|
| 1 | Opening invocation | | By the mercy of heaven |
| 2 | Requests asking for protection to the client and her offspring | A | May there be sealing for D. d. H. |
| | | B | And may children endure for her |
| | | C | And may her body endure for her |
| | | D | And let no tormentor that is in the world touch her |
| 3 | “By the name of”: authorities | A | By the name of I-am-that-I-am |
| | | B | Elisur Bagdana, the king of [demons and <i>dēvs</i>] and the great ruler of liliths |
| 4 | Spell: “I beswear you”: Main section, divorce formula | address | I beswear you, the lilith Hablas, granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay, who resides on the threshold of the house of D. d. H. and appears [---] boys and girls |
| | | wish | I beswear you that you should be struck in your pericardium by the lance of the mighty [Qitaros], who is ruler over demons, <i>dēvs</i> and liliths. |
| | | dismissal | Behold, [I dismiss] you from this D.d.H. and from her children, those that she has and those that she will have |
| | | exemplum | [Just as demons write] deeds of divorce to their wives and do not come back to them again. |

⁵⁵ Taking some liberties with style. For the edition and a more literal translation of the text, see the main edition under JBA 34.

| Section number | Description | <i>Internal divisions; the function of the segments</i> | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| | | | <i>The text in English</i> |
| | | command | Take up your deed of divorce and accept your adjuration [--- and go away] from the house and the dwelling of D.d.H. and do not make yourself visible to her again [---] and do not come near her and do not injure the children that she has and those she will have, (this) D.d.H. and B.s.G., her husband. |
| 5 | <i>nomina barbara</i> | authority | yd yṭ yṭ yṭ |
| 6 | Invocation of power and authority | power | By the signet-ring on which is drawn and carved the Great Ineffable Name. |

Multi-Spell Incantations

Many incantations are made up by combining two or more spells. The definition of a spell is not always easy. In principle, a spell is a text occurring in an incantation that is self-sufficient, i.e. it includes all the elements necessary for accomplishing its goal. A spell is typically marked by the fact that it is not unique, but is also attested in other bowls, either on its own or in company with other spells. We may imagine a recipe book of spells in which all the spells used by magicians are quoted with the appropriate headings indicating their purpose and aim. In the absence of such a book for the Babylonian magic bowls, we cannot always be sure that a text designated by us as a spell was indeed regarded as an independent unit of incantation in the professional circle of magicians.

We do not possess all the bowls ever produced, and never will; many bowls are no doubt still buried in the ground, others are broken or effaced. We do not even have access to all the bowls unearthed and presently in the hands of collectors or curators. We thus cannot take the preceding guidelines as absolute criteria. Even if we did have the full texts of all bowls, we would no doubt come across sections of text in some incantations which bear all the hallmarks of a spell, but are attested on no other bowl: this is because the practitioner on occasion felt at liberty to improvise and produce a new text in a style and mould with which he was intimately acquainted (we may assume that most practitioners of this type of magic were men). New spells were also likely obtained from the less rigorous oral composition. It may be supposed that such free oral compositions could be put down in writing and eventually become part of the repertory of spells.

One seldom comes across a spell text that occurs without accompanying phrases, and it is not always easy to determine the boundaries of a spell when it is not frequently used. In some cases we can discern more than one theme in an incantation, without being able to state that each one is an independent spell as defined here. Let us nevertheless take an incantation that contains several themes, and try to divide it into spells intuitively, according to our (somewhat subjective) feelings. In the following example there are two spells, occupying sections 3–5 and 6 respectively.

JBA 9

| <i>Section number</i> | <i>Description</i> | <i>Function of segment</i> | <i>Translation of text</i> |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| 1 | Dedication | | By your name I act, great holy one. |
| 2 | Request | | May there be healing from heaven for M. d. A., who is called K. |
| 3 | Spell I: Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa | Invocation | By the name of Yah, King of kings, Raphael, Miṭal, Milas, who are appointed over the smiting of evil spirits: The spirit that reclines among the graves, And the spirit that reclines among the roof-tops, And the spirit that reclines in the body, In the head, in the temple, in the ear, and in the nostril, And in all the members of the body of M. d. A., who is called K., And the spirit whose name is Agag daughter of Baroq, daughter of Baroqta, daughter of Naqor, daughter of Namon, daughter of migraine, daughter of the evil eye. |
| 4 | | Description | They call you blinder, smiter, sightless. They call you lame, They call you itchy. |
| 5 | Spell I continues: | Adjuration with historiola | I adjure you and I beswear you, you evil spirit, who met Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, and Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa said to her, to the evil spirit who met him at that time, the verse that is written: |
| | | Quotation | "You make darkness and it is night, wherein all the animals of the forest creep". |
| | | Adjuration continued | And again I adjure, and again I beswear you, you evil spirit, that you should not go and not become to M. d. A., who is called K, |
| | | Threat | a companion of the night, or a companion of the day. For if you go and persecute the body, head, ear, eye, nostril, thigh, bowels, limbs, and members of M. d. A., who is called K., you, evil spirit, they will ban you and break you and excommunicate you just as mighty fortified cities were broken. |
| | | Historiola end | They sent against them Nurael, Raphael and Michael. |
| 6 | Spell II: Expelling of evil spirit | Invocation | By the name of Yah, YHWH, A, Yah. |
| | | Quotations | "YHWH is a man of war, YHWH is his name" "YHWH strong and mighty, YHWH mighty in battle" "YHWH is king, YHWH reigns, YHWH shall reign for ever and ever" |

| <i>Section number</i> | <i>Description</i> | <i>Function of segment</i> | <i>Translation of text</i> |
|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|--|
| | | Adjuration I | I adjure you, you, evil spirit, Who is called daughter of Bal'in, and Ragziel sent you to sit upon the head, to crush the skull, to ring in the temples, to buzz in the ears, to sit upon the eyes, to confuse the countenance, and to harm the whole body. |
| | | Adjuration II | And you, evil spirit, may your mysteries be hidden The one who sees you, with rumbling he hurls you, with clapping he hurls you, with shaking he hurls you, and by the moon and by its colours he drives you mad. |
| | | Adjuration III | I adjure you and beswear you, you evil spirit, and affliction demons and no-good ones and demons and <i>dēvs</i> , and error spirits and idol spirits, and complaint spirits and (evil) thoughts, |
| | | Invocation | By the name of the great Yahoq Yahoq, who pushed his chariot over the Red Sea, that you may move and be removed and be displaced and go away and depart and be abolished and be annulled from M. d. A., who is called K., from the 252 members that there are in her, from the 66 members of her body. |
| | | Prayer for health | And may she be healed from heaven from this day and for ever, swiftly and soon. |
| | | Invocation | By the name of the great Yah, YHWH Sabaoth, sanctified and glorified upon the exalted and lofty throne. You dwell in the chambers of the palace of majesty. You disclosed your myste[ry to flesh] and blood (who) does not [spea]k. |
| | | Divine Response | Speak in my presence with nocturnal supplications. And I cause you to increase and perform for you all [yo]ur request[s] ... before the throne of glory. |
| | | Requests | I ask you, ministers of YHWH Sabaoth, [I be]seech you, from the afflictions of my entreaty. [And] requests of wealth I do not ask from you, and [objects of silver I] do not request from you. But I ask you: [Purify (away)] the evil spirit, the spirit that opposes this M. and uses [her in all the sinews of] her body. |
| 7 | Concluding sections | Adjuration | I beswear you by the name of Gabriel the angel and Raphael the angel, [that you may] move from M. d. A., from the 252 members that there are in her. [And may she be healed] from he[aven]. |
| | | Conclusion | Amen, Amen, Selah |

The structure here is typically fluid. The division between the final part of Spell II and the concluding sections (7) is based on the fact that the final formulaic adjuration is typical of any number of incantations both in its structure and general wording, whereas the preceding lines are characteristic only to this incantation and its parallels. In addition, the formula of the adjuration shows considerable variation between the parallel texts, which suggests that the practitioner felt freer to improvise with it than with the preceding portion of the incantation.

Further elaborate combinations of spells and auxiliary texts are found in many bowls. An example of three bowls carrying a common spell, but each accompanied by different spells, is found in Shaked 2011, 192–198, where all three incantations start with the spell “I descended to the depths of the earth”. In one of the bowls (Bowl I) this is the only spell; in Bowl II this spell is followed by the spell “The great primordial father”, and in Bowl III there are two accompanying spells: “Shakobit the Sleeper” and “Your countenance is that of a vile creature”.

When the whole repertory of incantations in the JBA bowls of the Schøyen Collection are properly edited, it will be possible to compose a list of spells, giving them names usually borrowed from the first distinctive phrase in the spell.

Literary Features

The formulae of the magic bowls display various literary features, not all of them necessarily used in a conscious manner. These include, for example, the use of set phrases, the use of common religious formulae (such as those that occur in the Bible or in the regular prayers), the appeal to higher powers of various kinds, and several devices from the field of style and mode of writing. Examples of the last category are the use of gradually reduced writing of words (such as **qplrgyh plrgyh lrgyh gyh yh**)⁵⁶ and the use of untranslatable foreign-looking words and phrases, which we call *nomina barbara*. Not everything can be discussed in the scope of the present chapter. In what follows, we discuss *historiolae*, biblical quotations, echoes of biblical themes, prayer book allusions, mishnaic quotations and echoes of Hekhalot.

Historiolae

One of the most popular poetic devices in the bowls is the inclusion of a *historiola*, a short narrative piece which normally leads to the request presenting the purpose of the spell. Some of the favourite *historiolae* can be summarised briefly. An often quoted *historiola* concerns Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, a famous Tanna (first century CE), who encountered a female demon, identified simply as “an evil spirit”. He recites a biblical verse (Ps 104:20) and thereby vanquishes her. This lays the ground for the request to banish evil spirits and other maleficent beings from the house and the body of the bowl owner. The *historiola* serves as a proof-text and evidence for the possibility of accomplishing the desired aim. It is also associated presumably with the belief that the very recounting of the mythical incident already makes it present in some way and instils fear in the heart of the demons.⁵⁷

Another story that seems to have enjoyed enormous popularity is the *historiola* of Semamit. It is encountered in several slightly divergent versions in Palestinian amulets and also in Babylonian bowls, and is used as a narrative support for a spell designed to protect the life of new-born babies. The

⁵⁶ E.g. MS 2053/13:16. The word **qplrgyh** (κεφαλαργία), which means “headache” in Greek, is magically written away (here perhaps symbolically reduced to the divine name **yh**).

⁵⁷ See the Introduction to I.1, where this *historiola* is discussed in more detail.

protagonist of the story is a character called *semamit*, a word variously designating a lizard or a spider. The text of two of the bowls which carry the story reads:⁵⁸

Semamit gave birth to twelve sons, and Sideros the wicked killed all of them. She stood up and fled from him, and went off to a mountain whose name is unique in the world. She made herself doors of bronze and bolts of iron.⁵⁹ Soni, Sasoni, Sanigru, and Artiqu⁶⁰ came and said to her: "Open up for us!" She said to them: "I shall not open for you". They said: "(There is) a place that we shall make and enter it".⁶¹

She stood up and opened (the door) for them. With them there came in Sideros, and he killed her son and strangled him. She stood up and cried towards him: "O Soni, Sasoni, Sanigru and Artiqu! What have they done to him?"

They stood up, chased him and caught him in the midst of Pelagos, the great sea, and sought⁶² to kill and strangle him.

He said to them: "Let go of me, and I swear to you in the name of He 'who measured the water in the hollow of his hand' (Is 40:12) that wherever the name of Soni, Sasoni, Sanigru, and Artiqu is invoked, I shall desist from killing, strangling and harming the house of A. b. Q. and all the children that they have and will have" etc.

As already noted, this story enjoyed great popularity in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In the Christian tradition, variations of the basic story appear in a large number of languages, including Coptic, Ethiopic and Greek. In the Jewish magical tradition, parts of the story have survived even up to the modern period.⁶³ Apart from the three versions edited in Naveh and Shaked 1985, four other bowls have been published with texts almost identical to AMB Bowl 12a or Bowl 12b.⁶⁴ Two additional Palestinian amulets with the Semamit *historiola* are known to exist.⁶⁵

The interest of this *historiola* is manifold. It is one of the rare examples in the bowl literature of a well-structured narrative that occurs consistently as the backbone of a spell in several bowls. It is so far a unique case of a magical story that has a life of its own, independent of Jewish magical spells, for it is attested in several other cultural corpora and in different languages. It seems quite probable that the story was first composed outside the magical context in which it is first attested, but the early history of the text is presently lost. Its subsequent longevity, however, which is rare in the bowls, is well documented.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the *historiola* contains implicit observations on the meaning of motherhood and on the precarious nature of raising small children. It can almost be characterised as a compendium of the uncertainties and dangers facing humanity when it struggles to raise the next generation. An interesting element here is the ambiguity of the nature of the helpers, Soni, Sasoni, Sanigru, and Artiqu, who avenge the death of the child and are instrumental in assuring the future safety of the children of the client, but who may themselves be implicated in some of the troubles

⁵⁸ The text that follows is based on AMB Bowl 12a, with minor modifications. See Naveh and Shaked 1985, 104–122, 188–197 for further comments. The vocalised reading of the names is a guess.

⁵⁹ For the reading *w'bd̄t lh dšyn dynhšh w'bryn dprzP*, see Ford (forthcoming a).

⁶⁰ As discussed in Naveh and Shaked 1985, 196, *'rtyqw* originally was a verb "they knocked", but in the JBA bowls it was reinterpreted as a personal name.

⁶¹ This translation is based on a slightly different reading of AMB Bowl 12a:4, reading *dwkt' dn'bd wny'wl 'lh*.

⁶² In AMB Bowl 12a, this is followed by "from them", which seems redundant and is here omitted.

⁶³ For details, see Naveh and Shaked 1985, 111–122.

⁶⁴ Müller-Kessler 1994; Oelsner 1989; M-K 4a (cf. M-K 4); CAMIB 71A+72A+73A (Segal did not fully recognise the fact that the fragments contain this *historiola*). Additional new bowls, some with significant variant readings, together with a new edition of the British Museum fragments, are being prepared for publication by J.N. Ford.

⁶⁵ One amulet, kept at the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, is being prepared for publication by R. Elitzur-Leiman. An edition of the second amulet has been prepared by P. Roth and E. Zadoff.

⁶⁶ One occasionally finds spells in the bowl texts that appear nearly 500 years later in the Cairo Geniza. Spells in Mandaic bowls are sometimes attested in early modern or modern manuscripts in the Drower Collection (e.g. Ford 2002), but the continued existence of a Jewish Aramaic spell, albeit in a modified form, until the present is exceptional.

threatening the existence and survival of the children. This *historiola* thus conveys in a succinct manner a sophisticated account of family tensions and gender disparities.

The efficacy of the story rests on the belief that the beneficent personages of the story are somewhere near at hand or can be called upon for assistance. When they come, they are likely to be induced into action, as in the narrated prototype story. In other words, the *historiola* acts as a precedent. The evil powers have already been subdued and have already succumbed to the superior power of the agent invoked. The victory is close at hand. There is no reason to doubt that something that has worked in the timeless past of the story should not turn out to be effective once again at this moment.

Another *historiola* is sometimes used to introduce the divorce formula: “A deed of divorce has come to us from across the sea, and there was found written in it that your father’s name is Palḥas and your mother is the lilith Palḥadad” (e.g. JBA 15:5–6). This piece of *historiola* is used to emphasise that even if the magical deed of divorce does not contain the relevant names of the demons to be subdued, their names are known and the formula is valid. It underlines the tendency to cover all eventual variations in the details of the evil persona that is being combated.

Some *historiolae* are recounted in the first person singular, as if the events recounted happened with the practicing magician or the owner of the bowl (e.g., in the spell “I descended to the depths of the earth”),⁶⁷ but it is clear that this mode of formulating the story is a mere device serving to heighten the sense of the narrative’s immediacy. The *historiola* itself aims in principle to re-enact a timeless, mythical occurrence, and the first-person mode just increases the proximity to that act. Thus, in a divorce incantation, the narrator switches from recounting the writing of a deed of divorce to the statement: “Then I ascended against you to the heights, and I brought against you ruin that will injure you and cause you to go forth from the house of ...” (JBA 20:8–9).⁶⁸ It is typical of this *historiola* that it recounts events following a shamanistic type of experience. The details are blurred, probably intentionally, so that we are never quite sure whether the movement that takes place goes in an upwards direction or the other way round. Both directions would lead the performer outside worldly existence and enable him to communicate with supernatural powers that are not visible or comprehensible in regular circumstances.

Bowls using the first-person singular style of narrative make no pretence to impart the illusion of a unique personal vision. The spells may be repeated in several bowls, each written by a different scribe. As a magical spell these narratives are part of the repertory of magicians, and anyone can copy and reproduce them. The narrative is unusually vivid, and is meant to create an atmosphere of suspense. Here is an extract from the beginning of one such text:⁶⁹

I stand on a mountain of stone, on a great mountain of stone, I heed and listen to Shamish and Ḥwr, the grandson of the son of the great king of the *dēvs* and the great ruler of the no-good-ones.

On that day, at that hour, and at that time, when the *dēvs* were going out for battle and the liliths were going out for mourning,⁷⁰ the phalanx of the demons and the band⁷¹ of the no-good-ones were in commotion, the troop of the *dēvs* and the band of the liliths were in commotion. The drum of rebellion groaned, the horn of destruction cried out. The cauldrons boiled over with rage, the great cauldrons of destruction boiled. Four blasts of wind came forth from the four directions of the world. Four blasts of wind came forth from you, the shore of the ocean. Four dragons came forth from you, the Lydian (?) mountain.

The *dēv* shrieked, the dragon howled, the lilith Zarnai wailed, Leviathan the fish became agitated, it shook, and trembled and caused the entire earth, the universe, to shake. There was shaking in the earth and

⁶⁷ See Shaked 2011, 199–203.

⁶⁸ Similarly, also in JBA 21:9–10; JBA 22:8–9.

⁶⁹ MS 2053/159:2–9.

⁷⁰ For *lmmwbyh* “for mourning”, see Morgenstern and Ford (forthcoming).

⁷¹ For *klh* “band”, see Morgenstern 2005, 358–359.

groaning in heaven. The stars turned over and all the constellations turned over. The great anvil of heaven budged, the sea turned over by its rage and by its power, and the angels were in commotion in heaven.⁷²

The use of the first person enhances the power and immediacy of the events recounted and creates a denser, more dramatic narrative. This style of narration adds a dimension of concreteness to the magical situation. The *historiola* evokes an event that supposedly happened, and that may be re-created by recounting it once again.

Another type of *historiola* is constructed like a story-within-a-story. Here is an example:⁷³

I descended to the depths of the earth, I saw the foundations of the world with my eyes. (As for) the tremors of the world, I looked at them. And lo, I heard a voice of speech that spoke from the midst of the *electrum*.

It spoke and thus did it say: I am [Segan] the swift angel, who stands in the presence of the Lord of the World, with regard to [the newborn of women] who are snatched away, and (who) cries [out]⁷⁴ and [thus] says:

I sat at the tombs of the dead, and lo, I heard the voice of women who were moaning and sighing, shouting and screaming, weeping and crying, [and] crying out saying thus:

We were in the form of lightning, we were born in the form of clouds, and lo, (there were) four great beasts who were sent out against our children, who strangle, snatch, crush and devour, like a lion that snatches, strangles, crushes and devours.⁷⁵

Here two devices are used: the first-person narrative, and the story-within-a-story, or rather, the citation of speech that is enclosed within the citation of another speech, which can go on *ad infinitum*. The speech embedded within another speech, which leads on and on in a circuitous manner, creates an effect which seems to duplicate in the verbal sphere that which is represented in the visual field by the circular, spiral arrangement of the writing on bowls. The spiral writing convention of the bowls probably has a functional purpose, for this is the most efficient use that can be made of the circular shape of the bowl. At the same time it may also have a symbolic significance: it is designed like a maze which leads nowhere, or, in most cases, away from the centre to the outside of the bowl. Within this constant roundabout movement of the lines, the demons are perhaps deemed to lose their bearings. There is seemingly no way out of this circular motion. If the bowls may be said to fulfil the function of demon traps, the spiral lines may be one of the elements that enables humans to accomplish this feat, to imprison the demons within the lines of the incantation that lead them farther and farther away from within.

It is often not entirely clear what time is involved in the description of events in the formulae that we are discussing. They may concern things that have happened in an undefined past or that are about

⁷² See Levene 2003a, 99–108, where an edition of M 145 with MS 2053/159 is given, and the comments on both texts in Müller-Kessler 2005, 230; Morgenstern 2005, 357–362; Ford 2006, 211–212; and Morgenstern and Ford (forthcoming). A revised edition of both bowls is being prepared by J.N. Ford and M. Morgenstern and a new transcription of the Schøyen bowl will be published in volume four of this series. It may be noted that the name of “the lilith Zarnai” may be a borrowing from the Persian word *zurnā(y)* “trumpet”. With regard to the reference to Darius in M 145:15 // MS 2053/159:15, Müller-Kessler 2005, 230, rejects Levene’s interpretation with the claim that “the Aram. spelling דריוש belongs to the Achaemenid period and not to the 5th to 7th centuries A.D.” The spelling *drywš*, however, is biblical and not typical of Official Aramaic. The proper Aramaic form of the Achaemenian period is usually *drywhwš*, whereas a biblical form is apt to be quoted in Jewish writings of all ages. She further states that “all parallel passages are emended by Levene to obtain a reading דריוש”. This is inaccurate. In MS 2053/159:15 the name is written *d’ywš*, with *reš* written above the line, emended by the scribe himself. In M 145 Müller-Kessler proposes to read and translate: *wsyp’ dryyš mlk’ ddywy* “and the sword of the chief king of Dews”. This, however, is not an admissible Aramaic syntax. Furthermore, as it follows the phrase *wnysk’ dšmdy mlk’ dšdy* “and the lance of Ashmedai, the king of demons”, one is entitled to expect a proper name after the noun that designates a weapon. This is corroborated by the structure of the parallel passage in MS 2053/159:14–15: ... *ddwyd wsyp’ dšlmh wnysk’ dd’ywš mlk’ wzyr’ dšmdy mlkh dlṭby* “the ... of David, and the sword of Solomon, and the lance of Darius the King, and the weapon of Ashmedai, the king of the no-good-ones”, giving a sequence of historical or mythical figures, each with his characteristic weapon.

⁷³ MS 2053/13:3–8.

⁷⁴ For *mpšh* “cry out”, see Ford 2006, 211 (n. 4) and Ford (forthcoming b).

⁷⁵ See Shaked 2011, 192–197, with parallel texts.

to happen in an unmarked future. This kind of narrative is different from the basic type of *historiola*, where a structured narrative involving other persons is given. Here the practitioner speaks in the first person singular, and his narrative sounds like a threat or an admonition to the powers he is confronting. The resulting effect is somewhere between a legendary story and a direct magical invocation. Here is an example:⁷⁶

And I have taken some of their hair for binding them; some of their blood for sealing them; some of their skin for marking them. Seven times seven I have seized them by the tufts of their hair, eight times eight by their bodies, and I have cast them into Haraq Maraq, the breach of heaven, to where demons go and do not come back.

I beswear you and adjure you by gardens after gardens, by plants after plants, by valleys after valleys, by that tree from which Adam ate and it was revealed to him:

Do not say (anything) to the angels, and the angels shall not say (anything) to you; and do not reveal (anything) to the earth, and the earth shall not reveal (anything) to you, in order that you should not injure and harm again Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat and Khusro, her husband, and the people of her household, (those) that she has and (those) that she will have, because they are a pure burning coal and a great section of stone.

The perfect tense is used in the verbs of this narrative. This can of course denote a past action, but it can also function in a modal manner, as an injunction, as a promise for an undefinable future.

Another example of a similar nature:⁷⁷

Šakobit the Sleeper, who takes away children from women and roasts them and drinks from their (i.e. the mothers') milk, daughter of the lilith Ṭasat. Shut yourself away from Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh.

And do not drink from her milk and do not knead it with your blood. Change your path, just as the primeval demon changed (his path), the one who was in the days of King Solomon son of David.

There is no direct narrative here, just an allusion to a figure called by the (symbolic?) name Shakobit the Sleeper,⁷⁸ a feminine character. Her harmful actions are described incidentally, in connection with the injunction that she should not exercise the fearful actions she is perceived as performing; and yet it seems likely that behind the injunction there is a full narrative legend with which the readers of the text or the listeners to the invocation are familiar. In this sense one may treat this piece of magical text as akin to a *historiola*.

It is certainly not an accident that this story, like many others recounted or implied in the repertory of magic texts, tells of a female demonic figure whose aim is to snatch away children from their mothers in order to cause them premature death. The hope of keeping children alive, of perpetuating the lineage and in a sense one's own existence, is a driving force of great importance in the magical activity in Late Antiquity. It is still a major concern for parents of young children in contemporary society.

An implicit *historiola* on a different theme is the following:⁷⁹

You are 'ypr'dyṭy,⁸⁰ to whom all women are slaves, to whom all women are shown, to whom all of them are shown by authority at night, Hallelujah.

It is sealed against you by the name of Šidqi, Šedeq, Šidqiel. By a straight sword and a curved projectile, by a curved sword and a straight projectile, that you should not come, nor be visible in the form of daughters of Eve during my sleep at any place, whether by day or by night—to this Bahroi daughter of Šišai, nor to this

⁷⁶ MS 1927/10:6–10.

⁷⁷ JBA 47:10–11. The text parallels a bowl published in Gorea 2003, 85–89, 92. For a revised transcription and translation of the latter bowl, see Ford 2012.

⁷⁸ I.e. "the one who lies down", perhaps in the sense of "the one who is dying", or an attribute hinting at sexual laxity.

⁷⁹ M 3; parallels in MS 2053/46 and several other bowls.

⁸⁰ Probably a form of Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love.

Mahkird, her husband, son of Dēnak, and that you should not come near them, nor touch them, nor cause injury to their sons and daughters ...

In this text the overriding concern is not the fate of the children, but an apprehension (felt presumably by the husband) with regard to the sexual attachment of a woman to her husband: the menacing demonic power appears to cause women to divert their sexual craving away from the rightful owner of their affection and their obedience. Here again, it is likely that the full story of how the demon causes this diversion of sexual interest from the husband to a female demon—in fact, to herself—was told, perhaps in a hushed voice, intimately and outside the written records of the bowls.⁸¹

A *historiola* can thus sometimes be discerned underlying what looks like a straightforward reference to demons where fear or concern are expressed.

Biblical Quotations

The magic bowls provide us with an extensive corpus of biblical verses cited as part of the text of the incantation. The verses quoted are essential to the process of achieving power and asserting dominion over the hostile entities, or for obtaining the assistance of beneficent spirits for the sake of healing or other positive aims.

The choice of biblical verses is quite interesting, and we shall try to say a few words about it. It may however be pointed out that an incidental benefit of these quotations is their contribution to our understanding of the biblical canon in the period of the fifth-seventh centuries CE. These quotations constitute the earliest versions of many verses in the Hebrew Bible after the Dead Sea Scrolls, although there is a gap of half a millennium or more between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the magic bowls.

Furthermore, not every verse of the Hebrew Bible is represented among the Dead Sea Scrolls, hence some of the biblical quotations in the bowls are the earliest attestations we have. While the biblical texts in the Qumran manuscripts already show evidence of a firm canon of scriptures, the magic bowls, alongside the Talmudic literature (for which, however, we depend on rather late manuscripts), demonstrate that by the fifth century CE the canon of sacred scriptures was a long-established text. Evidence for the oral character of the memorisation of the biblical texts, as opposed to its availability in written manuscripts, can be found in the spelling variations found in the bowls. A certain gradation may be made between the Pentateuch (which may have been more often read from a manuscript, notably in the synagogue) and the rest of the Hebrew Bible. The orthography is often lax, a detail that demonstrates that verses were quoted from memory, rather than copied from a scroll. Scrolls in general are awkward to consult; in this sense the advent of paper in the Near East, with the increasing popularity of codices as opposed to scrolls, created a revolution in the attitude towards books and led to wider accessibility of written literature.⁸²

Although the biblical verses quoted usually conform to the text of the verses as it was handed down and ultimately fixed by the Masora (somewhat later than the period of our bowls), there are often small divergences in spelling. Only in some rare cases is the spelling of the Hebrew free, sometimes even blatantly so, and in such cases one should try to determine the reasons for the disparity of the bowl version. A desire to reproduce a specific mode of pronunciation may be one such reason.⁸³

⁸¹ The attributes “straight” and “curved” in connection with weapons may also contain a sexual allusion.

⁸² An overview of the historical development of Hebrew manuscript codices is given in Beit-Arié 1981.

⁸³ This may be the case with Num 10:35, which is quoted in AMB Bowl 3:5. The MT reads: קומה משה ויאמר יהוה בין נסוע הארון וימר משה קומה יהוה ויהי בנסוע הארון וינסו משנאך מפנך ויהי בין נסוע הארון וימר משה קומה יהוה ויהי בנסוע הארון וינסו משנאך מפנך. The bowl has: ויפוצו איבך וינסו מן [---] מיפנך. This spelling may have been meant as a guide for recitation, giving a clear separation of syllables: *wa-ye-hi bin-nesoa'* etc. Another bowl, MS 2053/246:6–7, has a text that is closer to the Masoretic spelling: ויהי בנסוע הארון ויאמר משה קומה יהוה ויפוצו איבך וינסו משנך מפנך.

[illegible]

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵל הַשָּׁמַיִם יַעֲרֵךְ יְהוָה בְּךָ הַשָּׁטָן וַיַּעֲרֵךְ יְהוָה בְּךָ הַבָּחַר בִּירוּשָׁלַם הַלּוֹא זֶה אוֹד מִצֵּל מֵאֵשׁ:

(1) Zech 3:2

הִנֵּה אֲרַחֵק נִגְדָּא אֵלַיִן בַּמַּדְבָּר סֻלָּה:

(2) Ps 55:8

וַיֹּאמֶר שִׁמְעוּ נָא דְבָרַי אִם יִהְיֶה נְבִיאֲכֶם יְהוָה בִּמְרֹאֶה אֵלָיו אֲתוֹדַע בַּחֲלוּם אֲדַבֵּר בּוֹ:

(3) Num 12:6

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵל תִּקְרַב הָלֶם שֶׁל נְעֻלִּיךְ מֵעַל רִגְלֶיךָ כִּי הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה עוֹמֵד עָלָיו אֲדַמַּת קֹדֶשׁ הוּא:

(4) Ex 3:5

חֲנֻנִי אֱלֹהִים חֲנֻנִי כִּי בְךָ חֲסִיָּה נִפְשִׁי וּבְצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ אַחֲסָה עַד יַעֲבֹר הוּוֹת:

(5) Ps 57:2

הִנֵּה אֲרַחֵק נִגְדָּא אֵלַיִן בַּמַּדְבָּר סֻלָּה:

(6) Ps 55:8

(7) Amos 4:13

כִּי הִנֵּה יוֹצֵר הָרִים וּבֹרֵא רוּחַ וּמַגִּיד לְאָדָם מַה שָׁחַ וְעָשָׂה שָׁחַר עֵיפָה וּדְרָךְ עַל בְּמַתִּי אֶרֶץ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ:

לֹא תֵאֵנָה אֵלֶיךָ רָעָה וְנִגַּע לֹא יִקְרַב בְּאֵהֶלְךָ:

(8) Ps 91:10

ריגונו אל תיחטאו אימרו בלבבכם על משכבכם ודומו סלה זיבחו [זי]בחי צדק וביטחו אל יהוה רבים או[מ]רים מה י^י[רא]ינו טוב נסא עלינו אור פניך יהוה נתתה שימחה בליבי מעת דגנס תירושם רבו בש^ל[לוי]ם יחדיו אישכבה ואישנא כִּי אֲתָהּ [י]הוה לבדד לבטח חושייני

רגזו ואל תחטאו אמרו בלבבכם על משכבכם ודמו סלה:
זבחו זבחי צדק ובטחו אל יהוה:
רבים אמרים מי יראנו טוב נסה עלינו אור פניו יהוה:

⁸⁷ MS 2053/44:13-15.

נתתה שמחה בלבי מעת דגנם ותירושם רבו:
בשלום יחדו אשכבה ואישן כי אתה יהוה לבדד לבטח תושיבני:

Sometimes a biblical verse is quoted intertwined with another verse; this is a fairly widespread feature in metal amulets as well. The procedure in such a case is that a word from one verse is followed by a word from the other biblical verse, and this goes on until the end of both verses. The verses should obviously have the same number of words. An example is:⁸⁸

שמע יושב ישראל [ב]סתר יהוה עליון אלהינו בצל יהוה שדי אחד יתלונן

In this case the declaration of faith “Hear O Israel: YHWH our God, YHWH is one” (Deut 6:4) is combined with a verse promising protection: “He that dwells in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty” (Ps 91:1).⁸⁹

On occasion a magic bowl will cite biblical verses in the form of an Aramaic Targum. An example was published in Kaufman 1973, where the Targum to Jer 2:2 and Jer 2:1 (= Ez 21:23) is quoted, alongside the original Hebrew versions of Ez 21:21–22, Jer 2:2, Jer 2:3 and Jer 2:1 (= Ez 21:23). No such bowl occurs in the Schøyen Collection, but a paraphrase or adaptation of a biblical verse based on an Aramaic Targum can be discerned in the following context:⁹⁰

דאינן אמרן בנפשיהון לית אלהא בשמיא ואנחנא ניזיל ונפיל על בני אינשה למצטותא ולמשלט עליהון

For they say to themselves: “There is no God in heaven, and we shall go and fall upon human beings in order to seduce and overcome them”.

The biblical allusion is to Ps 53:2 (see also Ps 14:1):

אמר נבל בלבו אין אלהים השחיתו והתעיבו עול אין עשה טוב

The fool says in his heart: “There is no God”. They act corruptly and loathsomely do wrong. There is no one who does good.

The version in the bowl, however, does not conform exactly to the extant Targum (nor to the Peshitta). An allusion to TO Deut 28:65 (see also TO Lev 26:16) is evident in the following passage:⁹¹

חרשי איתתא זידניתא מחשכא עינין ומפחא נפש

sorceries of a wicked woman who darkens the eyes and causes the soul to pine

The Targum reads:

ובעממיא האינן לא תנוח ולא יהי מנח לפרסת רגלך ויתין יי לך תמן לב דחול וחשכות עינין ומפחת נפש

And among those peoples you shall not find rest, and there shall be no place of rest for the sole of your foot. The Lord will give you there a fearful heart and darkness of the eyes and pining of the soul.

Echoes of Biblical Themes

References to the Hebrew Bible are not always done by a direct quotation of the Hebrew text or the Aramaic Targum. Quite frequently one finds that the biblical text is present without being quoted, but merely referred to obliquely. In the following example we have two biblical motifs. The first is a reference to Horeb, a designation of Mount Sinai that occurs once in the Bible (Ex 33:6) and is frequently taken up in later Jewish literature, especially the Midrash and *piyyut*. The second is a reference to Sodom

⁸⁸ MS 1927/18:9–10.

⁸⁹ For additional examples, see below, n. 101.

⁹⁰ MS 1928/39:7–8.

⁹¹ MS 1929/7:7–8.

and Gomorrah, the two vicious cities of antiquity that were destroyed because of the iniquity of their inhabitants (Gen 19):⁹²

I hereby seal you, all of you, O idol spirits, and I shall bring against you *ḥḏw* and *ḥḏ zyq' zyq'*, who is in the great mountain of Horeb. Behold I beswear against you vicious and severe angels who were sent against the female demons and the female *dēvs* and against fever and shivering and against demons and against *dēvs* and against lilithe, the angel Hakpiel, who was sent against Sodom and Gomorrah in order to destroy them, they will come and destroy you and he will come and stand between heaven and earth.

Prayer Book Quotations and Allusions

We often encounter in the various Jewish magic texts phrases and expressions that are clearly related to the Jewish prayer book. Some brief examples from the corpus of magic texts may be given.

A portion of the formula known to us from the *qaddish* prayer, said on solemn occasions in the synagogue or in prayers of commemoration of the dead, occurs in an incantation that also contains a large number of Hekhalot quotations:⁹³

ברוך שמו לעולם ועד יהי שמייה רבה מברך לעלמא ולעלמי עלמיה יברכך יהוה ושמו יאר יהוה פניו אליך וחנך ישם יהוה פניו
אליך וישם לך שלום

Blessed is His name for ever and for eternity (Heb.). May His great name be blessed for ever and for all eternity (Aram.). May YHWH bless you and keep you. May YHWH make His face to shine on you and be gracious to you. May YHWH lift up His face toward you and give you peace (Num 6:24–26).

This passage contains a combination of two of the most solemn prayers in the Jewish ritual: the *qaddish* and the Priestly Blessing. The former is given in two versions, Hebrew and Aramaic, no doubt in order to enhance its power. The latter, which is a biblical quotation, has a high esteem by virtue of the fact that it quotes the blessing that was recited by the priests in the Temple, and, according to the biblical text, was transmitted by Moses directly at the command of God.

Quotations from the *qaddish* also occur in other bowl texts, for example:⁹⁴

יה שמייה רבא מבורך לעלמא ולעלמי עלמיה

May His great name be blessed for ever and for all eternity.

In an amulet on metal from Ağabeyli (Turkey), there is a sequence of divine attributes that is reminiscent of the wording of the *qaddish*:⁹⁵

בסטר כרסיה דאלה רבה חסינה ודחילה מקדשה ומגדלה מ(פ)ארה ומרומ(מ)ה

At the side of the throne of the great, powerful, awesome, sacred, magnified, praised and exalted God.

The Geniza fragment T-S K 1.144 1b:10–14 similarly shows the propensity of medieval magicians to use the *qaddish* in magical formulae, in this case in a text attributed to the patriarch Abraham.⁹⁶

There is also evidence for the use of the *qedusha* prayer, based on Is 6:3, in the magic bowls.⁹⁷ The Isaiah quotation is:

וקרא זה אל זה ואמר קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבודו

And one cried unto another, and said, “Holy, holy, holy, is YHWH Sabaoth: the whole earth is full of his glory”.

⁹² MS 2053/27:8–11. In the present volume, see the less well preserved context in JBA 49:6–8.

⁹³ MS 1927/60:9–10. For the meaning of the *qaddish*, see Lehnardt 2002.

⁹⁴ MSF Bowl 24:2–3—for further comments, see Naveh and Shaked 1993, 135–136. In the Schøyen Collection, the *qaddish* formula also occurs, e.g., in MS 2053/73.

⁹⁵ AMB Amulet 7:15–16.

⁹⁶ See Schäfer and Shaked 1997, 31, 65.

⁹⁷ On the history of the *qeduša*, see Bar-Ilan 1990.

Compare MS 1928/33:22–23:

... ואמרין קדוש קדוש קדוש אדוני צבא[ות מלוא כל הארץ] כבודו

In the bowl version, the introduction to the words of the angels is in Aramaic, although the words spoken by the angels are quoted, as in the biblical verse, in Hebrew. The entire biblical verse is quoted verbatim three times in MS 2053/159:18–19.⁹⁸

The Jewish prayer traditionally recited before going to sleep, *qeri'at šema'* (še)ʿal ha-miṭṭa, also finds echoes in the magic texts. An implicit reference to the prayer is found, for example, in AMB Amulet 1:1–3. The general formula has been borrowed into non-Jewish magical traditions as well.⁹⁹

Another example, that forms part of the standard Jewish prayer-book, may be quoted:¹⁰⁰

ברוך אתה יהוה אלהינו מלך העולם האל המושיע

Blessed are you, YHWH our god, king of the world, the saviour god.

Mishnaic Quotations

Very rarely we also come across Mishnaic quotations in the bowls, which in the extant examples have the unusual distinction of being quoted as if they were power names, preceded as they are by the expression בשום “By the name of”.¹⁰¹ It may be maintained that these quotations are not quoted directly from the Mishna (which may have not yet existed as a written book at this stage), but from the prayer-book, where the relevant passages from the Mishna are regularly quoted as part of the daily morning prayer (although this is attested from a later date). If this be the case, the quotation of the Mishna passages is of the same nature as the previously discussed allusions to texts that form part of the Jewish prayer routine, such as the *qaddish*, the *qedusha*, and the *qeri'at šema'* (še)ʿal ha-miṭṭa.

Here is the full text of one of the two bowls containing quotations from the Mishna:¹⁰²

1. Bound and sealed are the demons and *dēvs* and *liliths* and *mevakkaltas*
2. and sorcerers and snares and curses and vows and misfortunes. May you be removed from this
3. house of Adib son of Bat-Šabbeta and from the dwelling of Farrdukh daughter of Mamay, his wife.
By the name of: “The sin-offerings
4. of the congregation and of individuals. These are the sin-offerings of the congregation: the he-goats offered at the new moons and at the set feasts¹⁰³ are to be slaughtered
5. on the north side, and their blood is received in a vessel of ministry (on) the north side. Their blood is required to be sprinkled by four acts of sprinkling on the four horns (of the altar). In what manner? The priest goes up the ramp and his face is
6. towards the circuit. He comes to the south-eastern horn, then to the north-eastern, then to the [north]-western, and then to the south-western. [The residue] of the blood he would

⁹⁸ See provisionally Levene 2003a, 99–108.

⁹⁹ For references to similar non-Jewish formulae, see Naveh and Shaked 1985, 42. Within the corpus of Jewish magic texts, compare also AMB Amulet 14:8 and MSF Bowl 22:2–3.

¹⁰⁰ MS 1928/39:2–3. The conclusion of this blessing is given in BT Meg 21b on the authority of Rava and Rav Papa. It forms part, most conspicuously, of a blessing for Hanukka or for Purim.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Wolfe 65:6, where Deut 6:4 is quoted in a similar manner: ובשום שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד. An even more elaborate example occurs in JNF 141:3–4, where the biblical verses Deut 6:4 and Ps 90:1 (written intertwined) and 2 Sam 22:2 and the doxology *barukh shem kevod malkhuto* ... (likewise written intertwined) are treated in a similar manner: בשום שמע ישיב ישראל: בסתר יהוה עליון אלהינו בצל יהוה שדי אחד יתלון ויאמר ברוך יהוה שם סלעי כבוד ומצוד[ת] [י] מלכותו ומפלטי לעולם לי ועד of biblical verses in this manner in the magic bowls, see above.

¹⁰² MS 1929/6. The other bowl is MS 2053/170.

¹⁰³ See Num 28–29.

7. pour over the southern base. (The offerings) were consumed within the curtains, by males of the priestly stock, and cooked for food in any fashion during that day and night until midnight".¹⁰⁴

The text of the Mishna in the incantation bowl reads as follows:

חטאות הציבור והיחיד ואילו הן חטאות הציבור שעירי ראשי חודשים ושלמועדו שחיתתן בצפון וקיבול דמן בכלי שרת צפון
ודמן טעון ארבע מתנ[ו]ת על ארבע קרנות כאיזה צד עלה בכבש ופניו לסובב בא לו לקרן דרומית מזרחית מזרחית צפון[י]ת
צ[פונית] מערבית מערבית דרומית [שיר]י הדם היה שופך אל יסוד דרומי נאכלין לפני מן הקלעין זיכרי הכ[הו]נה [ב]כל [מאכל]
יום וילילה עד חצות

The textual evidence of the incantation bowl, although limited, is of prime significance for the history of Rabbinic Hebrew in general and for the text of the Mishna in particular, because it precedes the earliest manuscripts of the Mishna by approximately 400 years and is roughly contemporary to the synagogue inscription from Rehov, which contains adapted excerpts from the Tosefta and the Palestinian Talmud.¹⁰⁵

The text is similar to that of MS Kaufmann A 50. Most of the variants are either the result of *plene* spelling (in the incantation bowl) or free lexical or morphological variants:

| MS 1929/6 | Kaufmann A 50 | |
|--|--|---|
| חטאות ואילו חודשים צפון כאיזה צד | חטאת אלו חדשים בצפון כיצד | Cf. Parma 3173: חטאות. The manuscripts read אלו or אילו. The lack of <i>beth</i> is probably an error. The forms are equivalent variants. The manuscripts ¹⁰⁶ here have כיצד, but the form in the bowl is well attested elsewhere. |
| ופניו לסובב שופך אל יסוד דרומי ונאכלים לפני מן הקלעין זיכרי הכ[הו]נה יום וילילה | ופנה לסבב שופך על יסוד דרמי נאכלין לפנים מן הקלעים לזכרי בכהונה ליום וילילה | The form ופני is exceptional. The manuscripts read with Kaufman A 50. Cf. Parma 3173: אל יסוד דרומי. The lack in the bowl of <i>mem</i> may be due to <i>sandhi</i> . The manuscripts read with Kaufmann A 50. Parma 3173 reads כהונה in accordance with the corrected form in Kaufmann A 50. |

As can be expected, the text of the bowl displays a tendency towards *plene* writing. Whether the text was available in writing or not, the quotation in the bowl shows a stable transmission with few significant variants.

Echoes of Hekhalot

A field closely related to magic in the Judaism of Late Antiquity is that of the Hekhalot literature. The essence of this phenomenon is a practice of induced visions of the upper abodes of the deity and of the ministering angels, whereby the mystic describes a gradual ascent through a succession of heavenly abodes until he gets very close to the divine presence. The closer he gets, the greater is his apprehension, for there is awareness not only of the closeness of the divine power, but also of the dangers posed to a human being by this proximity.

¹⁰⁴ The quotation is from m Zeb 5:3 (translation adapted from Danby 1933). MS 2053/170, which was written by the same hand for the same clients, contains m Zeb 5:4.

¹⁰⁵ For the Rehov inscription, see Naveh 1978, 79–85.

¹⁰⁶ Here we refer to the manuscripts available on the website of the Online Treasury of Talmudic Manuscripts (<http://jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/talmud/mishna/selectmi.asp>).

It is this mixture of feelings, where a sense of exultation and a fear of overstepping some intangible but exceedingly dangerous boundary are combined, that endows the lengthy descriptions of the ascent to heaven with a special flavour. One point that makes it possible to create a fairly intricate narrative of a progress through the heavens is the fact that this literature relies on an inherited idea of God being surrounded by a large number of supernatural beings, most of them benevolent angels but some of them grim gate keepers, whose task it is to keep intruders away from the exalted chambers. Those who have the temerity to go ahead and face the fearsome entities that are encountered on the way feel that they are acting in the name of others who are not as courageous as they are.

This literature thus portrays the human potential to overcome some of the barriers separating humanity from the divine, and does so by creating a dramatic picture of a progress in regions where no ordinary human being has ever been allowed to tread. This achievement is decidedly the result of human effort. In this sense the Hekhalot mystics are not in the same category as the biblical prophets. In the case of the prophets, the bridge between the deity and human beings is created by God, who initiates the dialogue between them, and even this divine overture is often greeted by a feeling of unease, terror, or human frailty in the face of the divine. In the case of the Hekhalot mystics, on the other hand, the first and subsequent steps are undertaken by the human, who seeks a way to establish an immediate contact with the deity (though it does not seem that this initiative is entirely crowned with success).

The intrinsic fusion of mysticism and magical activity is a cross-cultural phenomenon. It is a feature of Christian and of Muslim mysticism as well as of Jewish mystical movements, e.g. the Spanish and Lurianic Kabbalah, and the Hassidic movement, that figures who achieved a high standing in the community of believers as mystics and saints were deemed to possess also mastery over the divine powers and to be able to activate supernatural phenomena, whether by design or as a secondary achievement derived from their mastery of the mystical secrets. In their own eyes and in the eyes of the believers, this was a natural outflow of their ability to communicate with the upper powers. In both Judaism and Islam, a certain hierarchy is recognised. In the shadow of the pious mystic stands the humble practitioner, who makes a living by promising healing and success to his client in return for a fee. The latter does not claim power by virtue of his sanctity and religious rank (or at least not merely by virtue of such a position), but by knowing how to operate the mechanics of this religious complex. Such a person is in possession of the appropriate formulae and is familiar with the spells that can protect and enhance the interests of those who appeal to him. In Judaism, the relationship between mysticism and magic is most clearly demonstrated by what was called *qabbala ma'asit* "pragmatic Kabbala, the Kabbala that is tied up with a praxis", which in simple terms refers to the magical use of the Kabbala. It thus seems that the sharp distinction that is often made between the mystical and the magical dimensions in the writings of medieval and earlier authors can be misleading.¹⁰⁷ We should recognise that the power perceived to be accumulated by a mystic in the course of pursuing his religious devotion is regularly regarded as capable of being transformed into a capacity to affect the phenomena of the natural world. This can be explained either as a result of the mystic's intimate association with the deity, the source of all power in the world, or by the fact that the mystic himself has become a carrier of power. These two possible explanations are of course not mutually exclusive.

Was there a direct relationship between magicians who composed and wrote the bowl texts and Hekhalot mystics who sought to obtain an unmediated vision of God? There are numerous spells where no such connection is apparent. In some of the bowls, however, it is evident that the bowl practitioner was aware of the Hekhalot literary style and purpose, and was trying to harness the powers unleashed

¹⁰⁷ An awareness of the subtle interaction that exists between the two aspects, the mystical and the magical, of what is essentially one single religious phenomenon, is apparent also in the works of Idel; for example, in Idel 1996, 40–41.

by the Hekhalot texts for the immediate purpose of the incantation.¹⁰⁸ The authors of these particular bowls may even have been active adherents to the Hekhalot movement. One of the clearest examples was published in Shaked 1995a:¹⁰⁹

Peace be upon you, angels of heaven.
 Peace be upon you, cohorts of the army.
 Peace be upon you, flames of conflagration.
 Peace be upon you, wheels of chariot.
 Peace be upon you, *ofannim* and cherubs.
 Peace be upon you, living beings of the (Throne of) glory (?).¹¹⁰
 Peace be upon you, spirit of fire that comes from the north.
 Peace be upon you, spirit of fire that comes from the south,
 and blazing fire, and glow all around it,
 (with) the shape of the four living beings.
 And this is their appearance: they have the shape of a man.¹¹¹
 Peace be upon you, ministering angels,
 who officiate in front of him,
 (he) who sits upon four cherubim.
 And they have sixty-four faces.

The poetic character of this section is clear, as is its affinity with the language of the Hekhalot texts. Another example can be adduced from JBA 9:6 (and parallels):

By the name of the great Yah, YHWH Sabaoth,
 sanctified and glorified upon the exalted and lofty throne.
 You dwell in the chambers of the palace of majesty,
 You disclosed your mystery to flesh and blood ...

The text shows a clear literary relationship to Hekhalot Rabbati 9:2:

תתהדר תתנשא תתרום מלך מפואר מעל כסא רם ונשא נורא ומבוהל אתה שוכן בחדרי היכל גאווה מבוהלין ומזיעין ערבות
 הדום רגליך בקול רנה ורעש וזמרה וההמון אומרים שירה כדבר שנאמר קדוש קדוש קדוש ה' צבאות וגו'

May you be glorified, exalted, extolled, O glorified King upon an exalted and lofty throne, awesome and terrifying. You dwell in the terrifying and frightening rooms of a palace of glory. The clouds are your footstool. With a sound of exultation and clamor and singing the multitude chants a song like what is said (in Scripture): Holy, Holy, Holy, the Lord of Hosts etc.

The following text would also appear to show a relationship with Hekhalot literature:¹¹²

"God's chariots are myriads upon myriads,
 thousands upon thousands;
 the Lord is among them as in Sinai in holiness" (Ps 68:18).
 I adjure you and beswear you,
zḥw bryh zḥw bzḥw bryh 'h b'h is your name,

¹⁰⁸ Shaked 1994b; Bohak 2008, 332–334, sees a discrepancy between the mystical approach of the Hekhalot and the magical action; Schäfer 1988, 282, 285, 290, believes that the heavenly journey is not the aim of the mystic, but this seems unconvincing. Schäfer adduces as proof the fact that there is no description of the throne of glory, the purported aim of the whole exercise. The reticence to describe this final stage of the journey, which should be the culminating point of the experience, does not appear to constitute a proof for its marginal importance; it may indeed point in the opposite direction: this moment is so sublime that the mystic cannot bring himself to express it in visual terms—all he can do is to sing its praises. Schäfer's assertion that the Hekhalot authors are different from the rabbis who participated in composing the Mishna, Talmud and Midrash (see op. cit., 293) may become problematic if it transpires that some rabbis used bowls whose texts contain Hekhalot allusions. This point is admittedly not yet clear.

¹⁰⁹ M 1:8–11.

¹¹⁰ The reading is uncertain.

¹¹¹ See Ez 1:27 and Ez 1:5.

¹¹² MS 2053/27:1–2.

n'yr is your name,
 Metatron is your name, your name,
 you have seventy-one names and you are called **kynwyh**.¹¹³
 I adjure you, you, Bagdana,
 that you may come and slaughter and roast the demon
 and the *mevakkalta* demon and the lilith and the *gazzanita* demon
 who appear in house of ...
 By the name of the one whose name is **hqk**, who is called **hqryn**.

Here it is not so much the quality of the language, but the use of the terminology which suggests an affinity with the Hekhalot writings. The distinction between *šem* "name" and *kinnuy* "epithet or appellation" is typical of the Hekhalot texts, although it is not necessarily an exclusive feature of that literature. *Šmeh* "his name is" vs. *qarin leh* "he is called by ..." seems to give an explicit interpretation for the contrast *šem* vs. *kinnuy*.

Midrash Qohelet Rabba defines the difference between *šem* and *kinnuy* by the following parable:¹¹⁴

Rabbi Ahva son of Rabbi Ze'ira said: *ha-olam* ("the world"). (This means that) the *šem meforaš* was hidden from them.¹¹⁵ (This is) like a king who arranged a festive meal and invited guests. Having eaten and drunk, they said to him: Give us swords and lances to play with. He gave them branches of myrtle. They started beating one another and injuring one another. The king said: Now that I have given you branches of myrtle you have acted in this manner, had I given you swords and lances it would have been (much worse). Thus said God too: Now that I have hidden from them the *šem meforaš*, they kill by (using) a *kinnuy*; had I divulged to them the *šem meforaš*, they would have done (much worse).

This text takes a name (*šem*) to be more powerful than an epithet or appellation (*kinnuy*). This kind of understanding may have been widely accepted.

The two genres may be interrelated on a more general and broader level as well. This is suggested by the fact that it is not always easy to distinguish between 'pure' Hekhalot texts and magical formulae.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, as noted above, throughout Jewish history individuals who were considered in possession of high spiritual attainments were also held in awe as possessing supernatural powers. The quest of the Hekhalot mystics was achieved through a high degree of ritual purity and righteousness. Many magical recipes in the magical compendia from the Cairo Geniza and in later books of magic also explicitly require the performer to take special precautions to ensure ritual purity, in particular as regards sexual contact. They sometimes require abstinence from food and impose other severities. One may assume that the authors of the bowl texts were also concerned with ritual purity.

Although the Hekhalot literature is known chiefly from medieval manuscripts and fragments from the Cairo Geniza, the evidence from the incantation bowls helps us establish that it was already in existence in the late Sasanian period, as is now widely accepted. The evidence also shows that this literature was at home in Babylonia, contrary to the initial belief that it was solely a Palestinian phenomenon.¹¹⁷ The Hekhalot literature and the incantation bowl literature had several themes and aims in common. They both sprang up in the same general cultural milieu and their practitioners appear to have at least on occasion interacted.

¹¹³ The origin of this divine appellation is perhaps the common noun meaning "secondary name" (Heb. and Aram. *kinnuy*), which many supernatural entities possess in this literature.

¹¹⁴ Qohelet Rabba parasha 3 (11:3).

¹¹⁵ A word play: *ha-olam* "the world" and *ho'olam* "hidden".

¹¹⁶ A Hekhalot-type text, called by Schäfer 1988, 118, "Die Beschwörung des *šar ha-panim*", is a good example of the fluid borderline between the Hekhalot literature and incantation texts. It is in fact a magic text designed to achieve some of the aims of the Hekhalot mystics. Similarly, Schäfer 1984, 140–170 (nos. 13–20), provides several examples of texts that are not easily definable as either magic, private prayers, or Hekhalot texts applied for magical purposes.

¹¹⁷ See discussions in Gruenwald 1982; Halperin 1988; Schäfer 1988; Dan 1998.

Despite the interesting relationship between the magic texts and the Hekhalot literature, one must point out that most Jewish magic texts do not have a clearly discernible dependence on Hekhalot ideas or style. It may also be stressed that the Jewish magical activity in Late Antiquity was part of a multi-cultural phenomenon. The non-Jewish texts in Mandaic, Syriac, Greek, Coptic and in other languages show little affinity with the Hekhalot texts. Hekhalot seems to be predominately a Jewish phenomenon, with possible kinship to the ascension themes and visions in Iran and in some other cultures of the period.

THE ART OF THE ARAMAIC INCANTATION BOWLS

Naama Viložny

While magic is attested among the Jews of antiquity from early times until the end of the Second Temple Period, there is a total absence of artistic expression, whether figurative or otherwise, in connection with magical practices. There are practically no *objects* used for magical purposes and the texts contain no allusion to any objects. This stands in contrast to the frequent presence of distinctive Jewish allusions in the texts, such as the quotation of verses from the Hebrew Bible and references to Jewish divine names and names of angels. It is true that some of these elements have also become part of the language of non-Jewish bowls, but nowhere are they so often reiterated as in the bowls using the Jewish Aramaic language and script.

In underlining the lack of figurative art in Jewish magic during the Second Temple Period we may note that, while there is a good deal of evidence for mutual contact between Jewish and non-Jewish practices in the field of magic, figurative art was left out. Many of the pagan magical texts written on metal amulets or on papyri, dated to the Second Temple Period or later, betray traces of Jewish influence, but only with respect to such textual elements as the use of the name of God or of angels. Those names may have been considered to be powerful enough to enhance the efficacy of the magical activity (Bohak 2008, 305). We see influence in the other direction as well; we can track Greek and Iranian elements adapted by Jewish practitioners for their magical texts (see Shaked 1997). When it comes to figurative art for use in magic, the Jews were neither lenders nor borrowers (see Bohak 2008, 278–281).

Following the destruction of the Second Temple, and especially from the fourth to the seventh centuries CE, there was a significant change in Jewish magic, as part of a range of religious and spiritual changes that Jewish society underwent during this period. Judging by the large amount of Jewish evidence from Late Antiquity, in contrast to the Second Temple period, it would seem that magical practices involving the use of objects, and not limited to text alone, increased significantly. This increase can be seen in Palestine as well as in Babylonia. If for the Second Temple period our knowledge of popular beliefs is limited to textual evidence alone (we should however bear in mind that evidence for amulets or undocumented rituals may simply not have reached us), once we get to Late Antiquity we are confronted by a plethora of magical objects that were widely disseminated among Jews, some of them adorned with ornaments.

Late Antiquity was also the setting for one of the most significant changes in the Jewish world: the extensive utilisation of figurative art (see Levine 2005). This phenomenon appears in architectural decorations as well as in the decoration of small objects for the public and for the private domains. In the field of magic, this is expressed by the types of artefacts used and the way they were decorated. Figurative art appeared as part of Jewish magic practices in Babylonia and in Palestine. A close examination of the magical activity characteristic of each one of these communities shows that they took completely different directions. The differences between Palestine and Babylonia are visible in the nature of the magical objects used and in their decoration. This enables us to study in what way the attitudes prevalent in each community vis-a-vis magic are distinct, and to understand the diverse cultural resources upon which each of the communities drew.

In Palestine, popular beliefs functioned in various arenas and are also reflected in a diversity of magical objects, such as mirror plaques against the evil eye (Rahmani 1964), amulet pendants and incised amuletic tablets made of various metals and other materials (e.g. AMB Amulets 1–15). Mesopotamia had its own ancient rich magical tradition; this was expressed by numerous incantations directed against

demons, and by visual artistic representations of these demons. To date we are familiar with only one type of magical object in Babylonia that carries a clear Jewish character, namely the incantation bowls in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, and these display marked influences of Iranian culture.

The incantation bowls are frequently accompanied by fascinating figurative and decorative iconography that is unique in style. We now know of around four hundred that are decorated with drawings. The figurative art that appears occasionally on the Syriac and Mandaic bowls is characterised by its own style and iconography that reflects the culture of their creators. They are quite different from the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowls.

Despite the increasing amount of studies devoted to the texts themselves, work on the art that often accompanies the texts is still in its infancy. The aim of the present discussion is to give an introductory survey of the art of the incantation bowls and to shed light on figurative art as an important aspect of magic; for a more detailed analysis, see Vilozny 2010. Previous attempts are few and far between, and tend to lack either an informed stylistic and iconographic analysis (Hunter 1998) or a comprehensive appreciation of the artistic context (Swartz 2005); see also Wolfson 2001 and Lesses 2001.

Stylistic Aspects of the Figures Appearing on the Incantation Bowls

The figurative decorations include human figures, hybrid figures and animals. Some have figurative decorations at the centre of the bowl or on its sides. The decorations refer to the demonic world to which the incantation inscribed on the bowls is addressed, but a few representations of the sorcerer are also found. Only rarely, however, can a direct link be demonstrated between the text and the drawing on a bowl, so the text usually contributes very little to our understanding of the drawing.

Most of the drawings include some sort of portrayal of demons, male or female, appearing as hybrid creatures or humans, which can be identified via various characteristic features, either of animal anatomy, such as horns, claws or a tail, or by their wild, tangled hair and naked bodies. Almost all the figures are depicted bound in chains or shackles, thereby defining them as demonic. Most scholars agree with this view, although it remains a challenge to determine precisely the artistic or textual sources from which the images are derived.

The bowls may be classified first according to the language in which they are inscribed. We have three main groups: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Syriac and Mandaic. A few bowls are written in what appears to be Middle Persian or Arabic, but efforts to decipher them have been unsuccessful. A considerable number are inscribed in artificial scripts that convey no verbal meaning. The differences in language determine to an extent divergence in character, decoration and choice of motif. The Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowls are inscribed in circular lines arranged in a spiral fashion, usually starting from the centre and going towards the rim. Only rarely are the lines straight and horizontal, arranged from top to bottom. In such cases they usually spread out from the centre of the bowl towards the rim, forming three or four blocks of writing. Such a disposition of the text, however, is quite common in the Mandaic bowls. The drawings usually occupy the centre of the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowls, while on the Mandaic bowls the drawings are usually placed on the outer surface. In most bowls, the drawing was done first and then the text was added. There is usually just one figure in the centre, but in a few Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and Syriac bowls the artist created a more complex image, with several figures that appear to be in some relation to each other.

The design of the bowl decoration is detailed, as regards composition and presentation of the figure. We may classify the figures (men and women, monsters, demons etc.) and identify other prominent features such as anatomical details (eyes, hands, hair etc.) and accompanying objects (weapons, clothing etc.). There are certain recurrent elements in the portrayal of demons. For example, throughout the range of languages attested in the bowls, they usually appear bound, presumably to indicate that they are prevented from performing evil acts.

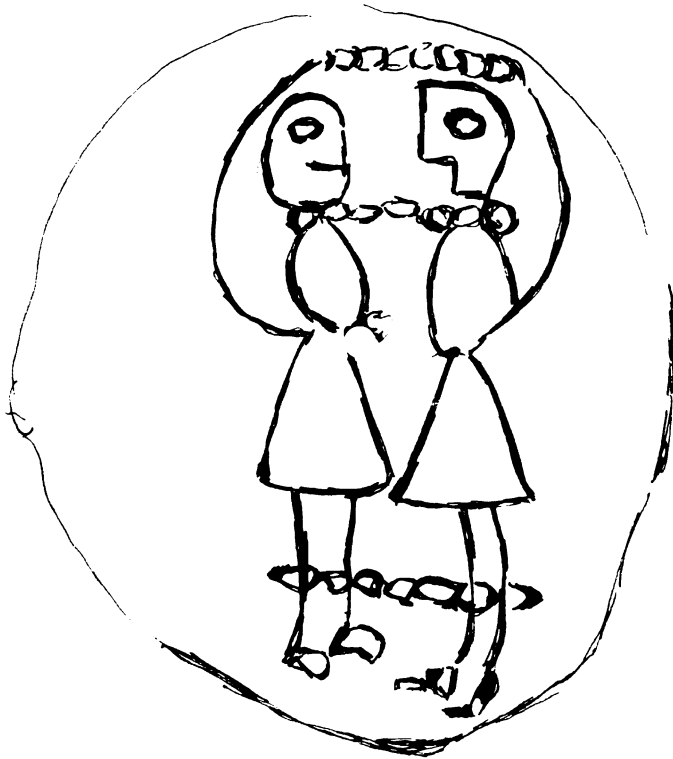


Fig. 1: Bound demons with large eyes (from JBA 55).

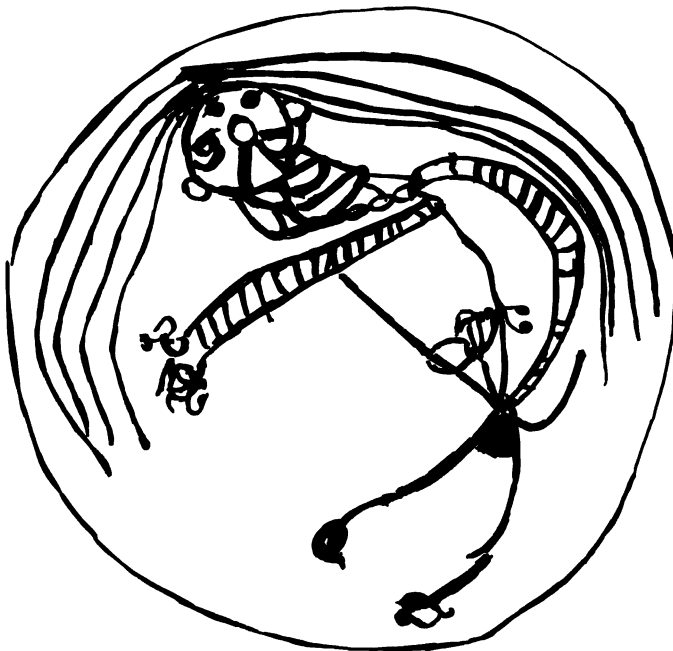


Fig. 2: Demon with prominent hair (from JBA 26).



Fig. 3: Hybrid demon with horns (from JBA 14).

Features marking the portrayal of demonic figures:

- one or both legs are bound in chains or attached to a cross; occasionally two figures are bound together;
- they are shown almost without exception in a frontal position, with a full view of the face;
- the figures are utterly static;
- the eyes are particularly important: they are usually portrayed as large and without expression;
- the palms, if depicted, are very large compared to the rest of the body;
- the hands, bound in manacles or crossed on the chest, are also particularly prominent.

Features marking the portrayal of hybrid demonic figures:

- they are equipped very often with curled, sharp horns pointing upwards from either side of the head;
- they often have pointed, feline ears sticking out of the side of the head;
- sometimes they are shown with wrinkles, and have very large eyes drawn as loops, starting at the sides of the head and spreading across the face;
- often they possess hands and feet of an animal or claws of a bird of prey or a chicken;
- sometimes they are shown with a tail;
- very often they are naked;
- the gender is indicated by the genitals and hair length.

Features marking the portrayal of demonic figures in human form:

- the figures are basically human with no bestial parts;
- sometimes they are fully or partly clothed;
- usually they are portrayed frontally, but occasionally they are shown in profile or half profile;



Fig. 4: Demonic figure in human form (from MS 1927/34).

- their gender is indicated by the genitals (mostly female) and hair length; rarely, it is indicated by their clothing.

Features marking the portrayal of human figures representing the magician:

- the body is human and not bound;
- the figure is shown sometimes holding a weapon or a palm branch, both carrying magical significance.

All the figures are highly stylised. The artist may choose to highlight certain details and obscure others. The figures are seen from the front rather than in profile, this in opposition to the portrayal of animals, which are only drawn in profile. This choice was presumably made from the artist's viewpoint: the frontal portrayal of the human figures highlights essential features and portrays the body as fully as possible, while the animal figures in profile enable the viewer to see a large part of their bodies.

The female figures are more elaborate and it seems that highlighting their hairstyle as well as their eyes was of special significance. The frontal and static posture in which the figures are represented was the prevailing trend in eastern art, and appears in various cultures from Mesopotamia, via Syria and Palestine, to Egypt (see Avi-Yonah 1981, 8–35).

Certain features of the human figures are highlighted by being drawn at a size out of proportion, while other features, such as the mouth, are deliberately obscured. Clearly the most important feature in these drawings is the eyes: they are all disproportionately large. The emphasis on the eyes and the tendency to obscure the mouth was a widespread practice in eastern art.

The Artists' Sources

One way of understanding the drawings is by examining their sources, the local tradition in which they developed, and the foreign traditions that they appear to have adopted. Our analysis of the artistic and

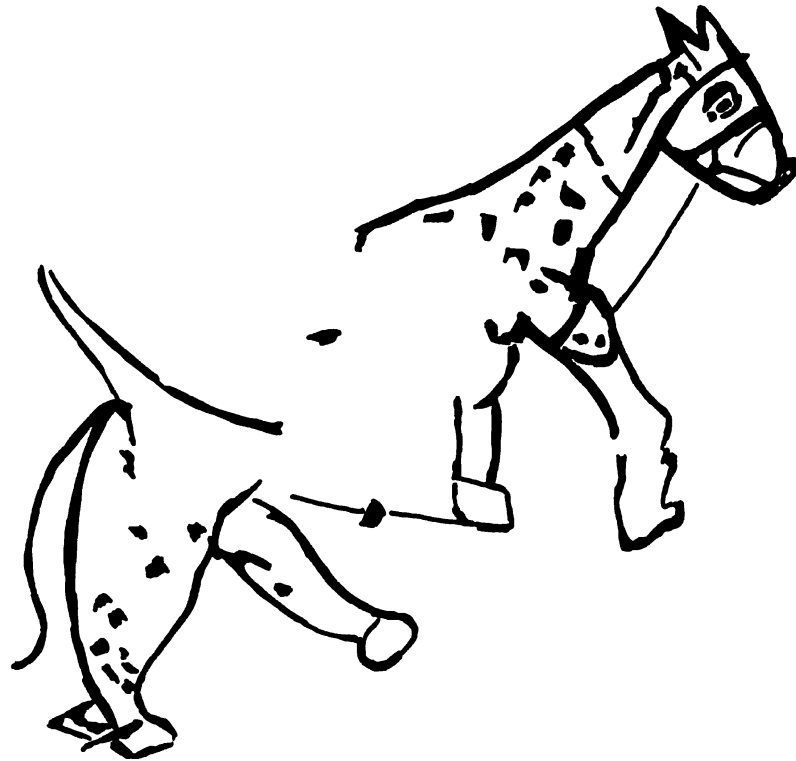


Fig. 5: Animal in profile (from JBA 40).

magical significance of the creatures on the magic bowls has led to some significant conclusions, which may be summarised under three headings:

- artistic sources independent of magic: artistic artefacts, architectural decoration, sculpture etc., that are close in style or iconography to the artistic world in which the bowls were made;
- magical motifs similar to those on the incantation bowls, whether they appear in amulets, jewelry or in texts such as magic books or collections of spells;
- the possible symbolic significance of features such as bodily comportment, dress etc. as depicted in the drawings.

A belief in an entire system of demons and spirits was widespread throughout the Near East. In Mesopotamia there was an ancient magic tradition that began with the Sumerians and continued with the Assyrians and Babylonians (e.g., see Geller 2007; Porada 1995; for a recent comprehensive survey, see Thomsen 2001). This tradition is rich and varied and is visible in many magic texts, including incantations against demons, and visual representations of the demons. Among the best documented demons were the male *Pazuzu* (see Heeßel 2002) and the female *Lamashtu* (see Wiggermann 2000). Their images decorated many amulet pendants and tablets from the first millennium BCE onward (Mallowan 1966, 117–118, fig. 60). Traces of Mesopotamian magic occasionally occur in the incantation bowl drawings, demonstrating the longevity of these elements. More often, however, the Aramaic incantation bowls indicate a tendency of the Jewish Babylonian community towards art acquired in Persia. The characteristics of these depictions are close in form to the Persian culture of their time. Scholars have recently noted the affinities between the Babylonian Jewish community and the local population, including the

Iranians living in Babylonia. In the Talmudic period, Babylonian rabbis appear to have had a more positive attitude toward the Persians than toward other nations (see Elman 2007). The Syriac bowls, in contrast, seem to have adopted iconographic motifs from Christian art, that was being formulated at that time. The elements typically used by the Christians included armed figures, dragons and crosses.

The similarities between the design of the bowls and that of Sasanian amulets are particularly noteworthy. They have a single figure at the centre usually surrounded by one or more lines of spiral text (see Herzfeld 1924, 82, fig. 37; Gignoux 1978, pl. V:3, 4). Also of interest is the appearance of the *ouroboros*—a common magical motif that appears on many artefacts, including bowls, amulet pendants and tablets. The dragon encircles the text, a feature that possibly symbolises a reinforcement of the incantation and the binding of any figures depicted on it. Another point of interest is the connection between the design of some of the figures and the contemporary Persian dress. The latter aspect is characterised by decorating the hands and feet of many of the figures with horizontal lines. This design seems to originate from traditional Iranian dress, popular in the Parthian and the Sasanian periods, in which the trousers and tunic have transverse stripes (see Harper and Meyers 1981). On small objects, such as coins and seals, and on the bowls, the folds become somewhat stylised, appearing as straight lines across the width of the garment and on the limbs.

Some of the hybrid figures have goat horns. These are also used on bowls and in literary sources to convey a demonic appearance. Such a description occurs in BT Pes 111b. A similar description is encountered already in the Qumran text 11QPsAp^a (see Lichtenberger 2009, 271–273). Other figures have bird claws and chicken legs, as in the Talmudic story of Ashmedai (BT Giṭ 68b). The portrayal of *Lamashtu* and *Pazuzu*, both in visual art and in incantations, makes use of the imagery of birds of prey (see Heeßel 2002; Wiggermann 2000; see also Thureau-Dangin 1921, 170).

On the basis of such parallels, we may situate the art of the incantation bowls on the regional cultural map. First and foremost we find that the drawings in the incantation bowls were not the independent product of the imagination of a single artist but reflect the culture in which they were made. The artistic language in which they were presented was thus immediately comprehensible to the viewers. Anchoring these drawings in local art confirms research already done on the magic texts and supports the idea that they drew their inspiration from local magic and religious literature. The bowl drawings went hand in hand with the art practiced in the region. The Jews adopted their iconography from their non-Jewish neighbours.

The Link between the Texts and the Drawings

Both the texts and the drawings, each in its own way, express the intention of the magician to shackle the demons or exorcise them. Most of the figures in the drawings are shown bound and restricted. Even the texts of bowls without illustrations sometimes contain descriptions of demonic figures that can help us better understand the drawings. The appearance of similar motifs in these two aspects of the bowls suggests that the basic ideas regarding magic and demons in Babylonia of the Talmudic period reflected widely accepted topoi. Many of the incantation texts, however, lack a verbal description of the appearance of the demons. Since the present discussion is concerned with the relation between the texts and the drawings, we shall only look at three types of bowls:

1. Bowls that contain a pictorial description. Occasionally the text includes a phrase that describes the drawing, but this is rare. In most cases there is no direct association between the text and the drawing. Thus the text contains a broad description of a demon or other harmful being that might be seen on other bowls. The description itself is of a demonic figure, usually including its name and gender. Less common is the description of other features of the figure's appearance such as hair, animal elements, and objects held in the figure's hands.

2. A text that says explicitly that the image in the drawing is of a demonic figure. Such a text will begin with the words "This is the figure of ...", but this is found on very few bowls. In some cases the text addresses a figure by name, in which case we can make the connection between the name and the figure.
3. A text that is an integral part of the drawing. The text may appear as part of the clothing texture, or as a bubble held in the figure's hands, or written in the gaps between its limbs. This text will be separated from the main text, usually by a thin line. The text may contain the figure's name or a description of its condition: it may be bound, or may be under a ban or under some other threat. A direct link between the main text and the figure does not always exist.

The texts lend verbal expression to a magic world and to the function of the bowls in that they describe different types of demons and evil-doers and the ways to exorcise them. The drawings add a visual, symbolic and schematic expression to these ideas. Such visual expression must have been comprehensible to contemporary people, who would have been expected to know how to interpret the drawings. The drawings played an essential role in representing the magic world of Sasanian Babylonia independently of the texts. They are therefore an inseparable part of the artistic world of the period, reflecting Jewish art as well as the contemporary artistic conventions. Jewish art, like that of the neighbouring cultures, served its creators in carrying a message to the viewer.

The Drawings of the Incantation Bowls—A Magic Art

Magic art seems to be very close in type to what we may term "folk art", and may even be considered to be a subgroup of that. Magic art has to be compared to folk art, to determine the similarities and differences between them. Jewish magic art from Babylonia may be described according to the following headings:

1. The figures are drawn with recurrent motifs that convey a clear message and are identifiable in terms of culture or style;
2. There is almost always a magical text alongside the visual representation;
3. The drawing is made on artefacts that possess a clear magical purpose;
4. The style of drawing employed can often suggest sloppiness or incompetence on the part of the artist;
5. The magical art is carried out individually for a specific client on a well-defined occasion. The client may have been present at the execution of his or her order, or may have given specific orders for the article. The meeting of the client and the practitioner is an essential element in this action. The style of the art is influenced by this interaction as well as by the ceremonial nature of the art.
6. The artist or practitioner of magic is anonymous.
7. The drawing conveys a message couched in conventional symbols.

Four of these areas are identical in magic art and folk art. Here are the characteristic features of folk art that are relevant in the present context:

1. The art is made through direct contact between artist and client.
2. The artist is anonymous to us: he does not sign his work.
3. The art is done in similar styles in various cultures, but its symbols are designed under the influence of the specific culture within which it is made.
4. The lack of expertise of the artist: the artist or magician does not necessarily have a broad artistic knowledge, or does not use it. His value system does not emphasise aesthetics, but rather the deep significance of the drawing's message.

The essential element characterising magic art, which does not necessarily occur in other folk art, is that it has a single, clear purpose: to recruit the supernatural to its aim, or to influence reality by appealing to supernatural powers. Just as a spell is intended to activate a power, so does the drawing aim at foiling demons and enhancing the desired goal. The usual purpose of folk art, on the other hand, is merely the imitation of reality. Magic art is most often done on an article that is recognised as effective in magic acts. This could be an incantation bowl, a curse tablet, an amulet or a pendant. Since magic art represents magic activities, it may be assumed that it was made by people whose expertise was in the field of magic, rather than that of art.

The iconography of the incantation bowls makes no mention of religion, whether Jewish, Christian or pagan. An exception is the frequent use of crosses in Christian bowls. Even in bowls with a clear Jewish affiliation according to the inscribed text, the drawings are not based on typical Jewish elements. What is the reason for this? One possibility is that, although the bowl drawings were influenced by local tradition, the script identified them as Jewish; their creators or possessors saw no reason to draw attention to this aspect more than was obvious from the text. It is possible, further, that the religious orientation of the art on the magic artefacts was not of great importance to their owners. The effectiveness of the artefact was the key point, and the decoration served only a magical purpose.

Summary

In everything to do with magic, the Jews were not cut off from their cultural environment. On the contrary, they were subject to outside influences, both textual and artistic. At the same time they contributed from their own culture to the local magic iconography and practices. The drawings on the incantation bowls and the accounts of demons in the Babylonian Talmud share a conceptual world in which male and female demons occupy a significant place in the universe. At the same time the incantation bowl drawings do not always conform to the talmudic descriptions.

Jewish art, like Jewish literature, was influenced by the traditions of ancient Mesopotamia and Persia. It appears that just as many literary motifs found their way from neighbouring cultures into Talmudic literature, various indigenous artistic motifs appeared on the incantation bowls. Although merely schematic, the drawings on the incantation bowls include strictly coded motifs rooted in popular consciousness. An icon serves to transmit a message quickly and clearly. In this kind of drawing, the emphasis is not on the aesthetic, but on the representation of iconographic elements that are essential if we are to interpret the figures correctly. Such an investigation may contribute to the study of popular Jewish art from Babylonia in Late Antiquity, of whose existence the incantation bowls are to date the only evidence.

LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF THE TEXTS IN THIS VOLUME

Matthew Morgenstern

The formulae inscribed on magic bowls represent the only significant epigraphic corpus of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic from the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods. Although this is the period of the formulation and redaction of the Babylonian Talmud, the Talmud survives only in later manuscripts, of which only a small number may be regarded as linguistically reliable. Furthermore, while the later Talmudic manuscripts are generally the products of educated scribes and copyists, the magic bowl texts suggest a wider variety of professional abilities, ranging from highly trained experts to the semi-literate. The fact that the magic bowls were buried upon copying also meant that they were never subject to the editing and “selection” that even better Talmudic manuscripts display. Accordingly, the magic bowl texts provide us with a unique “snapshot” of the linguistic situation of Babylonia during this period.

While the linguistic evidence that the bowl-texts provide is rich and varied, its interpretation poses many difficulties. Generally speaking, linguistic variation may be ascribed to one of three factors: (1) chronology, i.e. languages change over time even in a single place; (2) geography, i.e. languages that are not in contact will change in divergent ways and hence at any given time, two historically related forms of a language may show differences; and (3) register, i.e. the level of use of formal or literary language as opposed to more colloquial forms of the language. Migration and social or ethno-religious differences may bring these factors into relief; e.g. two geographically distinct dialects may co-exist in one location because speakers of one dialect have relocated to the area of another dialect. If the speakers of the new dialect maintain a social or ethno-religious distinction from that of their new neighbours, they may continue to use a distinct form of their language for many years. Furthermore, it is possible that members of two social groups will speak similar forms of the language, but will write them quite distinctly because of their different literary traditions and conventions, though the degree to which the writer is able to maintain a clear distinction between the vernacular and the language of the literary tradition can vary greatly. In the study of living languages, particularly in the Middle East, all of these phenomena are attested and recorded.¹

However, when we come to consider the evidence of our written texts from Late Antiquity, we are faced with the problem that the date and provenance of the formulae are unknown, particularly since the majority of the bowls now available were not studied in their archaeological context and the texts do not generally contain indications of their chronological or geographical provenance. Moreover, such data would only indicate when or where the particular exemplar was copied, though it is apparent from the Babylonian religious motifs that they contain that many of the formulae themselves are much older than the surviving exemplars. Similarly, although the texts themselves allude to significant differences between the literary idioms and the contemporary spoken language, it is not always possible to dismiss the archaic forms as literary affectations; it is possible that alternative forms existed for one grammatical category at a given time. We shall see such examples in detail below.

Nevertheless, there are several indications that the spoken language differed considerably from the conservative literary language. This difference is especially pronounced in the bowl texts that are written in a very non-standard orthography, e.g. JBA 40 and JBA 55, but such features are attested in many of the

¹ See e.g. the description of the Arabic dialects of Baghdad in the early twentieth century by Blanc 1964. A similar situation in Aramaic obtained in several locations wherein distinct North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects were spoken by different communities. See for example Mutzafi 2008, 10–11.

texts and have been noted throughout the introductions to each section. As a working hypothesis, we must entertain the possibility that deviations from the standard orthography, morphology and syntax of the literary idiom represent features of the spoken language when they are attested in several sources or may be explained by reference to phonological phenomena that are otherwise known in the Babylonian Aramaic dialects.²

In the following outline, we shall consider some of the most salient linguistic features of the texts published here within their Aramaic context.

Orthography and Phonology

Orthographic interchanges provide informative allusions to the vocalisation of the texts. It is thus important to consider the orthography alongside the phonology.

Use of 'aleph and he

In JBA 40, a text containing many non-historical spellings, 'aleph is often employed as an internal *mater lectionis* to mark an /a/ vowel.³ The vowel marked with an 'aleph is generally historically long, e.g. ליליאתא *liliātā* "liliths" (JBA 40:3) or bears secondary stress lengthening, e.g. כתאבית *katābīt* < *katabīt* "I have written" (JBA 40:3).⁴ In several texts, *he* is employed for the word-final noun marker -ā, e.g. ברהיא שעתה *brēhiā šēṭā* "at that time" (JBA 7:9). Similarly in the 1 p. sg. affixed pronoun: מומינה "I adjure" (JBA 5:8).⁵

JBA 40 also employs the digraph אה- for word-final -ah (3 p. fem. sg. pron.), e.g. לה *lah* "to her" (JBA 40:5), but also for word-final -ā, in ולבפיראה *wəḥā bəpīrā* "and not in the fruit" (JBA 40:5).⁶ This may imply that the vowel of the pronoun was lengthened to -āh; it is equally possible that the digraph in אה- simply reflects a pseudo-historical spelling for -ā. This is suggested by the shift of word-final -ā'ā (written in the Babylonian tradition אה-, e.g. קדמא *qadmā* "first") to simple -ā (e.g. קמא *qammā* "first"), which is attested in JBA, and is found in our corpus, e.g. דארמא ודהודא *dā'armā wəḏihūdā* < **dā'armā'ā wəḏihūdā'ā* "of the Aramaean and of the Jew" (JBA 45:7).⁷ In other words, while the historical spelling אה- (-ā'ā) was often retained, it was read as though it reflected the colloquial pronunciation -ā, and hence occasionally used to write -ā even when that vowel was not historically derived from -ā'ā.

The non-historical writing of the laryngeals and pharyngeals may be taken as evidence of their weakening in the spoken language. Accordingly, we find both that etymological 'ayin is omitted, as in בצידה "in her temple" (JBA 9:5) for בצידעה, and that non-etymological 'ayin is added, as in בדערתיהון "in their dwelling" (JBA 19:13) for בדירתיהון. On דעדיקהון "their children" (JBA 23:2) see below.

Sometimes, both historical and non-historical spellings are found within the same text, e.g. פיתה "the/her doorway" (JBA 37:5) = פיתחה (line 8).⁸ On occasion, scribes would correct their colloquialisms by rewriting the text but leave the original version unerased, e.g. לבה לאבא "To Abba, to Abba ..." (JBA 16:4).

² Babylonian Aramaic in this context includes also Mandaic, both ancient and modern. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the spoken varieties of these communal dialects were more similar than their literary representation would at first imply. See Morgenstern 2010b and Morgenstern 2010c. Some authorities employ the term "Koine Babylonian Aramaic" to describe this use of the vernacular; see particularly Harviainen 1981.

³ Juusola 1999, 31–32.

⁴ See below, p. 43.

⁵ This phenomenon is rare in the best Talmudic manuscripts, where *he* is employed almost exclusively in grammatical words or numerals.

⁶ So too למיתב על רישא "to sit upon the head" (JBA 9:13).

⁷ JBA 45 also contains many non-historical spellings.

⁸ In מאחת רוחתא בישתא "the smiting of evil spirits" (JBA 4:5; JBA 7:5–6), the 'aleph of מאחת is surprising, since the historical noun pattern is apparently *māḥāt*. The spelling may reflect the elision of the etymological *het*, i.e. *māt*.

Shewa

The *shewa* shows two characteristic Babylonian features.⁹ The first is the use of an *i* vowel for the “rule of *shewa*”¹⁰ with the conjunctive *waw* before another *shewa* or a bilabial, rather than an *u* vowel characteristic of the Tiberian tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic or the *a* vowel of Classical Syriac, e.g. “in the head, temple, ear, heart, and all the members of the body” (JBA 4:11) and “and I have written” (JBA 16:2).¹¹ The other feature is the shift of CvCCəCv > CvCvCCv, as attested in עִיזְקָתָא (JBA 64:6) *’iziqṭā* < *’izqəṭā* (< **izqəṭā*).¹²

/ā/

Several texts employ the *waw* as a *mater lectionis* for the etymological /ā/, e.g. וְרִמּוֹתָא “and the heights” (JBA 16:7).¹³ The form בִּימְקוֹמָהוֹן “when they get up” (JBA 43:10; JBA 47:8) thus reflects the vocalisation found in TO: the ground pattern of the infinitive form is *məqām*, while the long /ā/ is realised as a rounded vowel. With the addition of the preposition, the *shewa* following the *mem* is deleted following the “rule of *shewa*” **bama*- > **bim*- (see above).

Assimilation, Dissimilation, and Other Sound Changes

Several unusual spellings can be explained by reference to sound changes that are commonly attested in living languages. Thus שְׁנִיתָא “the grabber” (JBA 62:2) appears for common שְׁלִינָתָא (e.g. JBA 15:3), presumably the result of assimilation. Interchanges of phonetic and historical spellings may appear in the same text, e.g. אִצְקוֹפָתָא “the threshold of” (JBA 44:9) // אִי־סְקוֹפָתָא “her thresholds” (JBA 44:9). In this case, we may ascribe the shift of **s* > *ṣ* to partial assimilation of the *s* to *q*, though we cannot know if the two spellings reflect two phonetic realities or simply differing orthographic norms. Conversely we find סוֹסִיתָא “its tufts of hair” (JBA 26:6) for the more common forms with *ṣ*, e.g. בְּצוֹצִיתָהוֹן (MS 1927/10:7, MS 2053/11:6), which may reflect dissimilation followed by assimilation: *ṣūṣītā* > *sūṣītā* / *ṣūṣītā* > *sūṣītā*. We find the shift **q* > *g* in the form גּוֹמָתָא “her body” (JBA 12:8) for regular קוֹמָתָא, reflecting the voicing of etymological **q*.

The sporadic interchanges within a single context or parallel copies of the same formula demonstrate that they cannot be ascribed easily to chronological, dialectal or stylistic causes. For example, דְּעֻדְקִיהוֹן “their children” (JBA 23:2) appears in a parallel copy as דְּעֻרְדְּקִיהוֹן (AMB Bowl 5:4). A surprising array of alternative forms of this word is attested, even within the corpus published in this volume: דְּרֻדְקִי וְרֻדְקָתָא (JBA 30:10); וְרֻדְקוֹנִיתָא (JBA 34:6); דְּעֻדְקִי וְעֻדְקָתָא (JBA 38:3); דְּרֻטְקִי וְרֻטְקָתָא (JBA 31:4).¹⁴ Elsewhere we find דְּדֻקִי וְרֻדְקָתָא (M-K 13:5)¹⁵ and דְּרֻטְקָא וְרֻטְקָתָא (Gordon G:4).

The interchange of the forms לִיבְלִיכִי “heart” (JBA 29:6; JBA 33:4) // לִיבְבִיכִי (JBA 30:10) // דְּלִיבְבִיכִי (JBA 31:5; JBA 32:7) is noteworthy. Some authorities regard the form לִיבְבִיכִי as pointing to a Mandaic origin for this expression and formula,¹⁶ but, as we have shown elsewhere, such phonetic forms were probably shared by several dialects of Eastern Aramaic.¹⁷

⁹ Juusola 1999, 51–52.

¹⁰ I.e. where two *shewas* come consecutively, the first one shifts to *i* and the second is deleted.

¹¹ Boyarin 1978b, 146; Juusola 1999, 52.

¹² See Morgenstern 2010b, 457–458.

¹³ Juusola 1999, 54–68.

¹⁴ Compare the discussion of these forms in Naveh and Shaked 1985, 162.

¹⁵ Morgenstern 2010a, 286.

¹⁶ Müller-Kessler 2001, 349.

¹⁷ See Morgenstern 2010b and Morgenstern 2010c.

As noted in the introduction to I.2.2, the form דאיתמחן (JBA 27:5, JBA 31:5, JBA 32:6, JBA 42:4) might reflect interchanges of *d*, *t* and *ṭ* in the subordinating particle that are found sporadically in the magic corpus. These are discussed in detail in Ford 2012.

The affixing of the preposition בּהּ in מסברנבה “I comprehend her” (JBA 49:6) may indicate the pronunciation of the verbal base with its prepositional complement as a single phonological unit.¹⁸ On the false start ומשדנ ומשדנא (JBA 12:14), which probably results from assimilation, see the commentary ad loc.

Affixed Pronouns

2 p.

The 2 p. fem. sg. forms יתיכי (e.g. JBA 4:11) and ליכי (e.g. JBA 4:8) are notable for their use of the יכי- suffix. This is rare in Rabbinic Babylonian Aramaic, though traces of it are found both in the Talmud, e.g. לבנייכי “your sons” (BT Shabbat 151b [MS Ox. 366])¹⁹ and in the legal formulary tradition.²⁰ The origin of these fem. sg. forms is not certain, and it is possible that the orthography reflects two pronunciations: *-lki*, resulting from *umlaut*, and *-ayki*, resulting from the use of pronouns historically attached to masc. pl. or du. bases with the sg.²¹ The issue is further complicated by the sporadic use of an *-aki* pronoun attached to duals and plurals in TO and TJ.²²

The 2 p. pl. forms יתיכון and יתיכו (JBA 13:7)²³ cannot be explained as resulting from *umlaut*, and hence must be regarded as arising through the use of the “plural/dual base” pronouns instead of those for the “singular base”, as we find in ואימיכי (JBA 15:6) “your mother”.²⁴ They interchange in the same context with the standard form יתכון containing a “singular base” pronoun. An additional example with the 3 p. masc. pl. pronoun can be adduced from VA 2444:16 (unpublished): איסרו יתיהון ומסרו יתיהון “bind them and deliver them”, where the form again interchanges with a standard form containing a “singular base” pronoun. These forms are striking since they are neither found in TOJ, nor in Rabbinic Babylonian Aramaic, wherein indeed the particle ית is rare.²⁵ In the Syriac incantation bowls, however, one finds the equivalent form ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ with the 3 p. masc. sg. pronoun.²⁶ We may thus assume that יתיכון and יתיהון reflect pseudo-historical hybrids of archaic ית- with dialectal יכון- and יהון- respectively. יתיכו would reflect a further hybrid bearing the colloquial יכו-.

The 2 p. masc. pl. pron. suffix יכון- on the verb אשבעתיון (JBA 64:6) is irregular. The usual form is ינכו(ן), e.g. חתמתינכו (JNF 97:7).²⁷

3 p. fem. sg.

Particularly notable is the use of the simple ה- pronoun following masc. pl. or du. forms, e.g. גילגליהי ובבית דעינה “and in her eye-sockets” (JBA 1:6). This is standard in the Aramaic of BT, but stands in marked contrast to TOJ, for which ה- is found.²⁸ Our corpus also shows sporadic use of the 3 p. masc. sg. יה- for

¹⁸ Morgenstern 2010b, 463–464.

¹⁹ *Sic.* See Epstein 1960, 122.

²⁰ See R. Hai Gaon’s formulary, MS Firkowitz I 240 with corrections from Oxford Bod. e.56, on the website of the Academy of the Hebrew Language: hebrew-treasures.huji.ac.il.

²¹ On this phenomenon, see Morgenstern 2011a, 197–198 with previous bibliography.

²² See Dalman 1905, 204.

²³ See also יתיכון in M 59:12 (Levene 2003a).

²⁴ Epstein 1960, 121–124; Juusola 1999, 101, noted this phenomenon as occurring in the 2 p. sg. pron. suffixes.

²⁵ See *DJBA*, 544.

²⁶ See the examples cited by Moriggi 2004, 173.

²⁷ Juusola 1999, 230.

²⁸ E.g. כתבתנהו ליכסה “she wrote over her belongings” (BT Bava Batra 151a, according to *Halakhot Pesuqot Sassoon* 186:5). The

3 p. fem. sg., e.g. דיליה “her” (JBA 50:7) and ביתיה (JBA 54:7) “her house”, a phenomenon found in several Aramaic sources.²⁹

The Verb

Perfect

Although the corpus is unvocalised, much linguistic information can be gleaned from the *plene* orthography. This allows us to establish, for example, that the perfect is generally formed on the base of the 3 p. masc. sg., as is the case in TO and JBA.³⁰ This is evident from the *plene* orthographies of several forms found in the texts in this volume: כתאבית “I have written” (JBA 40:3) points to the existence of an *a*-vowel following the second radical, while the *yodh* following the conjunctive *waw* of וכתבית “and I have written” (JBA 16:2) indicates that the *kaph* must have originally been vocalised with a *shewa*. Accordingly, we can reconstruct for the *pe*. the reading *kəṭābīt* in accordance with the tradition of TO, rather than the *kitbīt* or the like of Classical Mandaic (and Classical Syriac). Similarly, we find סליקית “I ascended” (JBA 17:6), based on the 3 p. masc. sg. form סליק.³¹

The *pa*. stem is similarly based upon the 3 p. masc. sg., as indicated by the *plene* spelling of קבילת “she received” (JBA 25:7).

The final *-at* of the 3 p. fem. sg. may be elided, as in פגע “she encountered” (e.g. JBA 1:8; JBA 2:8, 9; JBA 3:9). Since this is a III-pharyngeal verb, it is difficult to know if this form and the alternative spelling פגעא (JBA 8:5) reflect morphological variants or if the latter is simply a hybrid spelling reflecting the additional elision of the *‘ayin*. In the best Talmudic manuscripts, all three forms, *qəṭālat*, *qəṭāla* and *qəṭāl*, are attested.³²

As discussed in the commentary on JBA 3:12, the final *nun* of the verb איתברן in the sentence כמה דאיתברן כרכין תקיפין “just as mighty fortified cities were broken” is surprising. There is almost no evidence for a 3 p. masc. pl. form in JBA with a *nun* suffix. Juusola wondered if an example might be found in אשתכחון (Montgomery 25:2), though the context is problematic and אשתכחון could perhaps better be interpreted there as an imperfect form showing the shift of initial *yī-* to *ī-*.³³ As noted in the commentary, these and other examples in our corpus seem to be the work of an individual scribe, and additional examples by other scribes need to be adduced before it can be determined if they are simply errors or reflect a genuine dialectal form.

The 1 p. sg. of the III-y verb generally follows the TOJ form, e.g. איתיתי (JBA 14:7; JBA 21:10; JBA 22:8); אומית (JBA 19:8; JBA 24:6; JBA 48:1; JBA 60:9). However, some examples are attested without the final *yodh*: אומית (JBA 49:1) and היתייית (JBA 17:6; JBA 20:8). The anomalous ואיתיתית “I brought” (JBA 13:7) may be explained as a pseudo-correction. While in the formal language, the 1 p. sg. morpheme was *-it*, in the spoken language the final *-t* was apocopated. For example, the literary form *kəṭābīt* was pronounced

TOJ form הַא is very rare in the JBA incantation bowls, where it is likely an archaism, and is not attested in the present corpus. It occurs twice in the expression ומתא ויתבה “and the town and its inhabitants” (JNF 37:9, 12; also written ומתא ויתבה later in l. 12). Cf. also כיפכירא לאחורה “she being tied up from behind” (JNF 52:5) in a partially deciphered context. The examples cited by Müller-Kessler 2011a, 230, as evidence for this form in Standard Literary Babylonian Aramaic are limited to TO and the Moussaieff amulet (Geller 1997, 331–332). The latter is *sui generis* and in my opinion of questionable authenticity (or at least antiquity) and should not be taken as representative of the language of Babylonian magic texts.

²⁹ See Juusola 1999, 89–94; Morgenstern 2011a, 204.

³⁰ This was already proposed in Kutscher 1962, 163–165; some of the most salient features shared by TOJ and JBA are summarised in Boyarin 1978b, 146–147.

³¹ שאלית “I requested” (JBA 9:17) is probably *pe*., but the possibility of it being *pa*. cannot be ruled out.

³² Morgenstern 2011a, 183–184.

³³ See Juusola 1999, 168–169. On this shift, see Morgenstern 2010b, 465 with previous bibliography.

katābi or even *katāb*, and such forms are attested in Talmudic literature.³⁴ The scribe, encountering an unfamiliar literary form with an *-i* ending, “corrected” it to a literary form with a final *taw*. The three *yodhs* of והייתי (JBA 17:6; JBA 20:8) imply a pronunciation such as *haitait*. While the *he-* of the *haf.* is an archaism, the *-ait* ending is probably a genuine Babylonian feature, since it underlies the dialectal form *-ay*, found for example in the Babylonian Talmud in the form איתאי “I brought” (*aitai* < **aitait*). It is possible that the same morpheme underlies the other forms lacking a final *yodh*, e.g. אומית.

Imperfect

The 2 p. fem. sg. morpheme of the non-III-y verbs is predominantly the TOJ form of תקטלין, e.g. תקרבין “you shall (not) approach” (JBA 34:11); תזלין “you shall (not) go” (JBA 7:10); תלושין “do (not) smear” (JBA 60:10). However, two examples have the תקטלי form: תיפקי “you shall exit” (JBA 45:6) and תשמתי “you shall be banned” (JBA 26:2). These are presumably the more colloquial forms. The III-y class similarly shows several forms.³⁵ The majority are of the תקטן pattern, presumably *tiqtān* of the TOJ-type, e.g. תחסן “you shall (not) harm” (JBA 40:5).³⁶ Others are written with either תקטין or תיקטין, which would both reflect *tiqtay(i)n*.³⁷ A third form is lacking the *nun*, e.g. תשנאי “you (fem. sg.) will change” (MS 1927/11:5). On occasion we find both forms in the same text, e.g. ותהון “and you shall be” (JBA 26:2) but ותיהו (JBA 26:3, 4). The anomalous form תימחיני “may you be smitten” (e.g. JBA 28:4; JBA 29:5) is discussed in the introduction to I.2.2, and it is unclear if it reflects a genuine dialectal form or a scribal hypercorrection.

The prefixes of the *pa.* show the typically Babylonian feature of a full vowel following the subject morpheme: דתישדר “that you shall send” (JBA 15:13). This feature is found in other bowl texts and in Rabbinic Babylonian Aramaic manuscripts.³⁸

Imperative

A salient feature is the loss of the final unstressed **-ī* vowel in the fem. sg. imperative: שקולי גיטיכי וקביל: “Take your deed of divorce and accept your adjuration and go out and flee and go away and take flight” (JBA 30:12). The interchange of historical and phonetic spellings is not unique to this bowl.³⁹

If the form דאיתמחן (JBA 27:5; JBA 31:5; JBA 32:6; JBA 42:4) is indeed to be understood as a fem. sg. imperative, then we have an unusual form for the III-*yodh* class that has not been previously attested. The expected form would be **איתמחאי*, with the *-ai* morpheme found in the magic corpus in the *pe.:* אישתאי “drink” (AMB 7:8),⁴⁰ and this is also the form known from Rabbinic texts.⁴¹ At least one example of the TOJ-type with the *-ā* morpheme is found in the magic corpus קדחי ופוקי ועירוקי וגלה (M-K 12:5).⁴² The fact that a *ḡ-* (*-ān*?) imperative form is not otherwise attested casts some doubt on the reliability of this textual version.

³⁴ See Morgenstern 2011a, 82–87.

³⁵ For a previous discussion of the 2 p. fem. sg. impf. form in the magic bowls, see Juusola 1999, 175, 178, 188–190. The evidence is discussed in greater detail in Morgenstern (forthcoming).

³⁶ Dalman 1905, 339, 346.

³⁷ Contra Juusola 1999, 189; see Morgenstern 2011a, 27–28.

³⁸ Juusola 1999, 187–188; Morgenstern 2011a, 98–101; to a lesser extent, it is also found in the Babylonian tradition of TO. See Dodi 1981, 180–184.

³⁹ Juusola 1999, 192.

⁴⁰ Juusola 1999, 193.

⁴¹ Morgenstern 2011a, 28–29, 102.

⁴² Morgenstern 2010a, 285–286.

Participles

Several striking forms of participles with enclitic subject pronouns are attested in our corpus: *אולית* “you shall go” (JBA 8:7; JBA 11:12); *רדפית* “you shall pursue” (JBA 8:7). These examples, which are 2 p. fem. sg., resemble the 2 p. sg. forms of Mand. *קאטלית*.⁴³ We also find the passive form *חתימתי* “you are sealed” (JBA 31:8) with its parallel *חתימתי* (JBA 42:8), assuming that these are not plural forms.⁴⁴ The relationship between these examples and their Mandaic counterparts is uncertain. The examples in our corpus are all feminine, and at first blush it would seem that we are dealing with the phenomenon of *umlaut*, the same phenomenon that appears to underlie forms such as *ליכי* and is quite common elsewhere in JBA.⁴⁵ Such an assumption might appear to be confirmed by the form *חתימתי* and its parallel, in which we find a word-final *-i* vowel that was generally apocopated and could feasibly have affected the previous vowel. However, the evidence is not conclusive. In one text we seem to find such a form used with a masculine subject, *אסירת דייוא* “you are bound, bound O *dēv*” (JNF 3:1). If both forms are authentic, the variation may possibly be the result of a combination of phonetic (non-standard) and historical (standard) spellings of the 2 p. masc. sg. pass. ptc.⁴⁶ In such a case, the vowel in question cannot be explained by *umlaut*. In the following parallel expressions, the standard form *אסירת* is used consistently for both genders—e.g., *אסירת אסירת פ(ת)כרא אסירת אסירת {א} ליליתא* “you are bound, bound, O idol spirit (masc.), you are bound, bound, O lilith (fem.)” (JNF 3:1–2). Further examples of the *ית*-morpheme employed with masculine subjects may help decide the issue.

Juusola has noted that the 2 p. fem. pl. participles with affixed subject pronoun are based upon the masc. pl. ptc. as they are in Classical Mandaic. Several examples are attested in our corpus, e.g. *שליחתין* “you are stripped naked and are not clothed” (JBA 15:4). Although Nöldeke noted that the fem. forms are often replaced by the masc. in Mandaic, the Mandaic bowls in the Schøyen Collection do indeed employ this feminine form, e.g. *עסיריתין וחתימיתין ליליתא זכריא וליליתא נוקבאתא עסיריתין* “you are bound and sealed, male liliths and female liliths, you are bound and enclosed and tied up and suppressed” (MS 2054/86:13–14). In JBA 62:2–3 one finds the exceptional 2 p. fem. pl. ptc. forms *לבישתין ולא שליחתין* “you are stripped naked and are not clothed”, based on the fem. pl. ptc. Equivalent forms (with apocope of the final *n*) are found in a parallel Mandaic bowl (see the introduction to I.2.4).

The 3 p. masc. pl. ptc. of the III-*y* class is predominantly of the *qātān* pattern employed in TOJ, e.g. *קרן* “they call” (JBA 4:8); *הון* “(they) shall be” (JBA 21:11), and *סטן* “(they) go astray”.⁴⁷ The form *חיין* in the expression *בנין דחיין* (JBA 55:13) may be regarded either as a participle or as an abstract plural noun, “sons of life”, i.e. living sons. *דשריא* “who dwell (masc. pl.)” (JBA 59:3) is surprising, and may result from grammatical attraction to the last named subject, i.e. *לילי ניקבתא* “female lili”. Such a grammatical form is otherwise unparalleled.

Numerals

As with the participles, the numerals display a tendency to employ the “masculine” bases with the feminine pronominal suffixes, e.g. *תלתיכון ארבעתיכון חמישתיכון* “the three of you, the four of you, the

⁴³ Nöldeke 1875, 232.

⁴⁴ Compare Juusola 1999, 199.

⁴⁵ Morgenstern 2007, 271–272; Morgenstern 2011a, 103–104.

⁴⁶ The duplication of the pass. ptc. in this context is called for by the structure of the text, but the sequence phonetic spelling—historical spelling suggests that the scribe intentionally opted for a more formal spelling at the second writing of the word. This recalls the phenomenon of “false starts”, in which the first writing reflects a non-standard phonetic pronunciation while the following correction reflects a more formal idiom, for which see Morgenstern 2007, 251, 254, 272.

⁴⁷ Juusola 1999, 206–209.

five of you" (JBA 15: 3–4). ארבעתיכין and חמישתיכין are clearly marked as "masculine" numerals by the *-t* morpheme.⁴⁸ The same phenomenon is found in the Aramaic of BT: וצריכין גיטא מינה תרוריה "and they both require a get from him" (BT Qiddushin 51b in *Halakhot Pesuqot Sassoon* 92:6).

Syntax

A salient feature that connects the language of the bowl texts with the Aramaic of BT is found in the following sentence: מיהמת דלא הוא ידעא שמיה "because she did not know his name" (JBA 25:7). As Kutscher 1970–1971 noted, in the Aramaic of BT the verb הוה "he was" had become a frozen past tense marker before participles. We may note that this distinctive feature is found in greater measure in the better Talmudic manuscripts, while later manuscripts tend to impose on the Aramaic texts the agreement of the auxiliary verb and the participle that is required in Hebrew.

Particles

נעביד לי כל מי ד- "he shall do for me whatever" (JBA 15:13) is composed in a very colloquial style; not only do we find the Babylonian-dialectal *nun* prefix on the verb, but also the colloquial מי *mai* "what" preceding the relative particle. The regular literary form is כל ד-, as in כל דקאים נפיל "all that shall arise will fall"⁴⁹ and וכל דלארעא קריא וכל דלשמיה מציתא "and all that calls upon the earth and all that listens in the heavens" (CAMIB 9A:11). Compare ית מאי דשמיע להון מין רקיעא "what they heard from the firmament" (Montgomery 8:9).

הכי "thus" is the regular form in the Aramaic of BT, and may be attested once in the highly Babylonian-dialectal bowl CAMIB 49A, though the final letter is uncertain there and the word could equally be read as האכן, a more conservative literary form found in the linguistically unique tractates of the Talmud and frequently in post-Talmudic literature.⁵⁰ האכן itself is rare in the bowl texts, where the regular form is הכדין,⁵¹ though one example is attested in a version of the Joshua bar Peraḥia story in Montgomery 8:8: והכין אמר לנא.

Vocabulary⁵²

Notes on the meanings of the words in these bowls appear in the commentaries. Here we shall highlight some of the more salient contributions of these bowl texts to the Aramaic lexicon, primarily words that are new to the lexicon or to which these texts add new information. The entries are presented in alphabetical order.

אפדנא "hall". In the Talmud, this Persian loanword indicates a large abode,⁵³ while in our texts it appears to have a more restricted sense of part of a homestead: ובאפדניה ובכולה דירתיה "in the inner room, and in the vaulted chamber, and in the hall, and in the whole dwelling" (JBA 59:40). Like English "hall", it may refer to either a part of another building or a free-standing structure.

⁴⁸ The preceding תלתיכין is most likely based on a "masculine" form as well, the *-t* morpheme having merged with the final *-t* of the numeral into a geminated consonant. Compare, for example, Wolfe 39:3–4, where again all but תלתיכין are explicitly based on "masculine" forms: תריוכין תלתיכין ארבעתיכין חמישתיכין "the two of you, the three of you, the four of you, the five of you".

⁴⁹ See Gordon 1951, 273.

⁵⁰ On the reading, see Morgenstern 2004, 216. For הכין in BT, see most recently Breuer 2007, 12 for a summary of the evidence.

⁵¹ Juusola 1999, 151. Juusola reports that "The regular form in BTA is הכיל", but this must be a printing error for הכי.

⁵² Some of the new interpretations in this section have been adopted in the book. These are marked by "MM".

⁵³ *DJBA*, 154.

בהל *pa*. “agitate”. In Aramaic, BHL generally has the meaning of “hurry”, though in the Bible we also find the meaning of “alarm, dismay” in *pa*. (e.g. Dan 4:16). In TOJ, the verb is attested only in the *itpe* stem “be agitated”,⁵⁴ whereas the cognate noun בהליל has the meaning “haste”.⁵⁵ In the context in which it is found in our corpus, ולא תזקנה ולא תרעשנה ולא תבהלנה ולא תזקנה “and do not disturb him nor agitate him nor harm him” (JBA 58:3–4), the verb is clearly employed in the meaning of “agitate” rather than “hurry”. In light of the biblical parallel, we may assume that here too the verb appears in the *pa*.

גרבניתא “itchy” (e.g. JBA 1:7). This nominalised adjective is derived from Aramaic גרבא “a skin disease”,⁵⁶ the masculine form is found as *garbān(ā)* in Syr. and TOJ,⁵⁷ and *gīrbānā* in Mandaic.⁵⁸ דיברא “open field” (JBA 15:3) is an alternative form, also attested in Mandaic, of the more common דברא. Changes of *a > i in closed syllables are relatively common in the Aramaic dialects and are found sporadically in the magic bowl texts.⁵⁹

זידן “wicked”. On the basis of the fem. pl. form זידניתא, *DJBA*, 406, records the basic form of this adjective as זידנאה. The masc. pl. form זידנן found in our corpus (JBA 3:4; JBA 4:15; JBA 37:3) implies that the basic form is in fact זידן with the *nomen agentis* -ān ending (see above), like Mand. *zidana* (*MD*, 165) and JPA זידן (*DJPA*, 175).

זמרתא “singing girl”. Presumably a noun on the *qattāl* pattern; it remains unrecorded in the lexica of JBA, though it is attested in M 103:5. For its meaning, see the introduction to I.2.3.

חסינא “harm”. This noun has previously been attested in M 102:3 and is known from both Syr. and the Syr. magic bowls (M-K 32:3).

חשיא “lungs” (e.g. JBA 12:12). For the identification of this newly recognised lexeme with Akk. *ḥašū* “lungs”, see the Introduction to I.1.1, where further evidence is also given in support of Müller-Kessler, who plausibly related Mand. *ḥašaša* to the same Akkadian term.⁶⁰

יפתקא “document” (JBA 35:4). To date, this form has only been attested in Geonic manuscripts (*DJBA*, 539), and its relationship with Talmudic פיתקא (*DJBA*, 908) is questionable. While יפתקא always refers to an official document with legal standing, פיתקא is any piece of paper on which notes are written.

מחגרתא “lame one (fem.)” (e.g. JBA 1:7). This is the previously unrecorded feminine form of מחגרא (*DJBA*, 654).

מטריתא “smitten one (fem.)” (e.g. JBA 1:7). Since the other epithets employed in this context have a passive/stative meaning, we may assume that this epithet also refers to the recipient of blows rather than the one who gives them, and should be interpreted as a nominalised pass. ptc. of the *pa*. טרף “strike”. The act. *pa*. is found in JBA (*DJBA*, 517) and perhaps in Syr. (*SL*, 551).

מסמיתא “blinded one (fem.)” (JBA 1:17). This is likewise probably a nominalised pass. ptc. of the *pa*. סמך “blind”.

משפופתי “cripple (fem.)” (JBA 7:8). This unusual form appears in place of שפופתי in the parallels. If it is not a scribal error resulting from parablepsis, it is best taken as a combination of two nominal patterns. A similar phenomenon is found in the blending patterns of the *nomen agentis*.⁶¹

נינה וניכדה “her son and grandson” (JBA 15:10). As noted in the commentary, this appears to be a Biblical Hebrew expression that has been borrowed into JBA.

נקושיא “illness” (JBA 9:13).⁶² Coming between גוהא “rumbling” and the somewhat enigmatic ריפסי, perhaps “trembling”, נקושיא must also be a state of ailment. It is uncertain if the form should be read as *nāqōšayyā* on the basis of Syr. *nāqōšā* “pain, illness” (*SL*, 945), or an unattested *nāqušyā*, on the abstract *qatulyā* pattern.⁶³

נצה *pe*. “be victorious” (JBA 25:9). Although not recorded in *DJBA*, this verb is also attested in the parallel text AMB Bowl 5:8. The phrase כול גיבריא כולהון דנצחין ביקרבא recalls TO to Ex 32:18 בקרבא גיברין דנצחין. The same text underlies a passage in JNF 247 and its parallel Mandaic formula.⁶⁴

סברא *pa*. or *af*. “comprehend” or “be acquainted with” (e.g. JBA 48:6, 7). The verb מסברנא comes in parallel with ידענא “I know”. While the root SBR is common in Rabbinic Babylonian Aramaic in the meaning of “be of the opinion, think, derive by logical deduction” (*DJBA*, 784), this precise semantic usage of “comprehend; be acquainted with” is not so far attested in Rabbinic literature.

⁵⁴ *GTO*, 28; cf. *DJPA*, 86: “be frightened; be excited”.

⁵⁵ *GTO*, 29.

⁵⁶ *DJBA*, 298: “leprosy”.

⁵⁷ *SL*, 255; Cook 2008, 54.

⁵⁸ *MD*, 92. For -ānītā as feminine counterpart to -ānā, see Epstein 1960, 113; Nöldeke 1875, 153–154.

⁵⁹ Morgenstern 2005, 354.

⁶⁰ Müller-Kessler 1999, 349 (n. 48).

⁶¹ Morgenstern 2009, 75–79.

⁶² For the reading נקישא “clapping”, see the edition of the text.

⁶³ See Nöldeke 1875, 146–147.

⁶⁴ See Ford 2012, and Greenfield 2001, 493–496.

- pe. “whip” (JBA 64:2). As explained in the commentary, this is probably a phonetic variant of JBA צִלָּף with the same meaning.
- עִירְתָּא “blind one (fem.)” (JBA 1:7). The fem. of the adj. עִיר “blind” (*DJBA*, 847) has not previously been recorded, though an alternative form עִירְתִּי may be attested as a personal name.⁶⁵
- pe. “depart” in the expression וְפֻקִי וְקֻדּוּחִי וְעֻטּוּרִי וְעֻרּוּקִי “and go out and flee and go away and take flight” (JBA 30:12). The verb is not previously recorded for JBA, but is known from TJ, where it translates the Hebrew roots ’ZL “be finished, run out” (1Sam 9:7) and SWR “be removed” (1Kgs 15:14; 22:43).⁶⁶ As noted in the commentary, it is also cognate to Mand. AṬR “go back, be driven away, go away, disappear.” It is also found in some Syriac bowls, e.g. Moriggi 2004, 254 (text 14:12).
- עִירְתָּא “waking” (e.g. JBA 15:11). In our corpus, עִירְתָּא appears as a phonetic variant of עִירְתָּא (JBA 18:8) in the expression וְלֹא בְשִׁנְתָּא וְלֹא בְעִירְתָּא “and neither during their sleep nor during their waking”. We may assume that the abstract sense is obtained by the use of a plural form.
- פָּנָא “wound”. As noted in the commentary, וּמִפְגָּנָא (JBA 64:2) is to be regarded as a phonological variant of וּמִפְגָּנָא “and they wound”. It is unclear if this is caused by dissimilation from the two preceding bilabials (*m* and *p*) or assimilation to the final *n*.
- פּוֹכְתָא “bridle”. The improved reading and context here imply that פּוֹכְתָא in Montgomery 1:11 should be interpreted in light of Mand. *pukta* “bridle”.⁶⁷ Note that in our text, פּוֹכְתָא “bridles” (JBA 64:3) represents an unattested pl. form that differs from *piktia/puktia* found in a late Mandaic magic text.⁶⁸
- פִּטְרִין “enemy”. Found in our texts in the abs. pl. form פִּטְרִין (JBA 21:5). This loanword from Iranian *petyārag* “enemy” is also attested in Mandaic.
- pe. “crush” (e.g. JBA 2:12). While the grammatical form לְמִיפֵעַ could be derived from the root NPʿ, it is best analysed on comparative grounds as deriving from the geminate root Pʿʿ.⁶⁹ The *pe.* has not been previously attested in JBA.
- צִיבְעוּנִי “colours” (JBA 9:14). Coming at the end of a list of curses against an evil spirit, we find the expression וּבְסִיחָא יִתִּיכִי “and by the moon and by its colours he drives you mad”.⁷⁰ The text refers to the baneful influence of the various colours of the moon on the individual. Similar motifs are found in a fragment from the Cairo Geniza and in thematically parallel texts in Akkadian, Mandaic, Syriac and Demotic.⁷¹ We take צִיבְעוּנִי as a plural form of JBA צִיבְעָא “colour” (*DJBA*, 959) with the 3 p. masc. sg. pron. suffix, in which the word-final *-h* has been elided.⁷² The morpheme *-ōnē* here would appear to be a reflex of the pl. suffix *-ānē*, for which see Nöldeke 1875, 169–170 and Epstein 1960, 119, who adduces *inter alia* TA צִיבְעוּנִי “colours” (Jastrow 1950, 1259), Rabbinic Hebrew צִיבְעוּנִי “colours” (Jastrow 1950, 1259) and Syr. ܥܝܒܥܝܢ “colour”, pl. ܥܝܒܥܝܢ (*SL*, 1277).⁷³
- צִלָּף “ring”. The context of וּלְמִיֻּצֵלִי בְצִידְעִין לְמִיֻּצֵלִי (JBA 9:13) suggests that לְמִיֻּצֵלִי means “to ring”, and that it is a III-γ verb derived secondarily from the geminate root ṢLL. This interpretation is confirmed by a parallel passage, misinterpreted in *MD*, that appears in the Mand. work *Pišra d-Pugdama d-Mia* (Drower Collection 51:331–332): *‘hab gunahia lriša ušišlia ‘lšaida* “they gave rumbling to the head and ringing to the temples”. The better attested variant reading וּלְמַעֲלִי “to go up” (e.g. JBA 2:12) is probably secondary.
- pe. “flee”. Although not a new lexeme, this definition, first identified and interpreted in Naveh and Shaked 1985, 183–184, was omitted from *DJBA*.
- רִיבְבָא “male nurse” (JBA 45:7). A full discussion of this new JBA term and its Mandaic cognate appears in the notes to the edition of the text.

⁶⁵ Gordon 1941, 121. For the *-tī*- adjectival ending, see the comments on שְׂפּוֹפִית below.

⁶⁶ Levy 1867, 210.

⁶⁷ The reading כְּמִין וּפּוֹכְתָא in Montgomery 1913 is clearly incorrect; the *nun* of כְּמִין is not a final form. In view of our text, we should read דְּפּוֹכְתָא.

⁶⁸ See *MD*, 367; for the variant readings of this passage, see Drower 1937, 178:20. The text published by Drower dispels any doubts about Nöldeke’s interpretation of this word. Hence the proposal in Epstein 1921, 30, to understand it as “excrement” must be rejected, both in Mand. and in our texts. Cf. Müller-Kessler 201b, 244.

⁶⁹ Syr. has a wide range of uses of Pʿʿ (*SL*, 1216) and never uses the root NPʿ, while Mand. knows only NPA “blow” (< *NPH). TJ Jer 23:29 translates Heb. יִפְצֹץ with דְּמִנְפֵּעַ (*pa.*), but the verb here must be in the *pe.* For the form, compare e.g. לְמִיֻּצֵלִי “to despoil” (TO Gen 31:17); Dodi 1981, 311. So while the derivation from NPʿ cannot be ruled out, the evidence appears to favour Pʿʿ.

⁷⁰ On “he drives you mad”, see below on שְׂנִי.

⁷¹ See Bohak and Geller (forthcoming) and Greenfield and Sokoloff 1989.

⁷² For the elision of word-final *he* of the 3 p. masc. sg. pron. suffix in the JBA incantation bowls, see Morgenstern 2007, 253.

⁷³ The separate entry ܥܝܒܥܝܢ “colour” (*SL*, 1277) would in fact appear to comprise additional examples of the pl. form ܥܝܒܥܝܢ.

ריחואה “wind” (e.g. JBA 11:18). This remarkable form, attested here for the first time in JBA, is common in late Mandaic sources and Neo-Mandaic.⁷⁴

רמאה “ache”. As demonstrated in Ford 2011, 255–259, רמאי (JBA 7:8) “aches” is cognate to Mand. *rumaiia* (MD, 430). רעש *af*. (?) “disturb”: תוקונה ולא תבהלונה ולא תרעשונה “and do not disturb him nor agitate him nor harm him” (JBA 58:3–4). The root is not common in Aramaic, though it is attested in Syr. with the meanings “tear” and “break, destroy” (SL, 1482–1483). It also appears in an enigmatic passage found in several parallel sources פגרי רעש “my body trembles, my body quivers” (e.g. Gordon B:8–9, M 101:11–12).

שני *af*. (?) “cause madness”. The expression שני דעתיה “he became insane” is found in BT and has been discussed in light of its Aramaic and Semitic cognates (DJBA, 1164). משני יתיכי “he drives you mad” (e.g. JBA 9:14) recalls the Syr. use of the *af*. with a direct object in the meaning of “cause madness” (SL, 1579).

שפופתי “cripple (fem.)” (e.g. JBA 1:7). This adjectival form, bearing the relatively uncommon feminine -תי suffix,⁷⁵ is a feminine form of the *nomen agentis* form *šāpōpā* “cripple” which is known from both Mand. and Syr. (MD, 444; SL, 1586).

Conclusion

The bowl texts published in this volume provide us with valuable new information about the history of the Aramaic language, even though it is not always possible to analyse these data with certainty. In this brief analysis, we have sought to highlight some of the more significant contributions these texts can make to the study of the grammar and lexicon of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. With the ongoing study and publication of the lost cultural remnants of pre-Islamic Babylonia, our understanding of the linguistic map of Eastern Aramaic in Late Antiquity is steadily advancing.

⁷⁴ Morgenstern 2009, 125. It is also attested in the Leiden Glossarium.

⁷⁵ Compare זוטרת “small” (DJBA, 403); חדתי “new” (DJBA, 433); חוורת “white” (DJBA, 450); סבתי “elderly woman, grandmother” (DJBA, 782, alongside the more common סבתא); רבתי “great” (DJBA, 1052). See Nöldeke 1875, 154.

I.1

RABBI ḤANINA BEN DOSA

INTRODUCTION

The magical *topos* of Ḥanina ben Dosa, a prominent Talmudic sage, is one of the most popular motifs in the Jewish-Aramaic texts in our corpus. Ḥanina ben Dosa, a *Tanna* who lived in Palestine in the first century CE (see Hyman 1964, 481–484), is depicted in the Talmudic literature as a colourful figure of a *ḥasid* and a miracle-worker. He is said to have lived in self-imposed poverty, devoting his life to piety and worship. For discussions of this person as one of the early pietists in the Talmudic tradition, see Sarfati 1957; Safrai 1965, 18–19, 31–32; Vermes 1972; 1973; 1976, 72–78; Morray-Jones 1992, 20.

Bokser 1985 presents an essay in literary and historical analysis, and suggests that there are fundamental differences in the portrayal of Ḥanina ben Dosa between the Mishna and the Talmud, with a tendency to endow Ḥanina ben Dosa with much more individual wondrous power in the latter. Furthermore, the Babylonian Talmud emphasises this point more than the Palestinian Talmud, which Bokser tries to explain in terms of the historical, social and political reality, an attempt that seems to go too far. On Ḥanina ben Dosa as a magician and miracle-worker, see also Bar-Ilan 1995.

Unlike Rabbi Joshua ben Peraḥia, whose magical prowess is recounted mainly in the incantation bowls (see I.2.1), Ḥanina ben Dosa is a well-established miracle-worker already in the Talmudic sources. The motif of Ḥanina ben Dosa that recurs in the bowls deals with his encounter with a female demon, identified simply as **rwḥ' byšt'** “an evil spirit”. He recites a biblical verse against her (Ps 104:20) and thereby vanquishes her. This is a *historiola* that introduces an exorcism of various spirits and demons as part of the incantation. It is possibly related to the incident of the meeting of Ḥanina ben Dosa with Agrat daughter of Maḥlat, recounted in BT Pes 112b:

לא יצא יחידי בלילה לא בלילי רביעיות ולא בלילי שבתות מפני שאגרת בת מחלת היא וי"ח רבוא של מלאכי חבלה יוצאין וכל אחד ואחד יש לו רשות לחבל בפני עצמו. מעיקרא הוו שכיחי כולא יומא זמנא חדא פגעה בר' חנינא בן דוסא אמרה ליה אי לאו דמכרזן עלך ברקיע הזהירו בחנינא ובתורתו סכנתך, אמר לה אי השיבנא ברקיע גזור אני עליך שלא תעבורי ביישוב לעולם, אמרה ליה במטותא מינך שבק לי רווחא פורתא, שבק לה לילי שבתות ולילי רביעיות

One should not go out alone at night either on the eve of Wednesday or on the eve of the Sabbath, because Agrat daughter of Maḥlat goes out in company with 180,000 harmful angels, each of which has the authority to cause harm on their own. Originally they would be found abroad every day. On one occasion she happened to come against Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa. She said to him: ‘If it were not for the fact that there is a proclamation in heaven (saying): Beware of Ḥanina and his (knowledge of the) Torah, I would put you in danger’. He said to her: ‘If I have a considerable position in heaven, I decree against you that you should never go through an inhabited place’. She said to him: ‘Please give me a little respite’, and he allowed her (to roam about) on the eves of the Sabbath and Wednesday.

The text continues with a similar encounter of Abbaye with Agrat daughter of Maḥlat. These encounters, in turn, thematically resemble the story of the encounter of Elijah the Prophet with the *lilith*, common in mediaeval and modern magic formulae (see Naveh and Shaked 1985, 118–119).

Despite the obvious affinity between the Talmudic story and the *historiola* recounted in the bowls, the latter cannot be based directly on the former. The bowls do not use the name of Agrat, which is familiar to them in other contexts, and consistently use Ps 104:20, which does not form part of the Talmudic story. The bowl story does not contain a dialogue and it lacks an allusion to the deal between the sage and the evil spirit that is an essential part of the Talmudic story, where the story serves to justify the common belief that the demoness Agrat daughter of Maḥlat is active on two nights of the week. It is equally unlikely that the Talmudic story should be a development of the *historiola* in the bowls. It seems that we have in this case two independent versions of a story of an encounter between the sage and an evil spirit, with the sage vanquishing the demon in both versions.

The tendency apparent in Urbach's comments on the wonder-works of Ḥanina ben Dosa and other sages (Urbach 1979, 104 and further in the same chapter) is to emphasise the conception of these works as having been composed in order to underline God's power, as opposed to human power, and to limit the power of demons, as in the story of the demon that can only act, thanks to the intervention of Ḥanina ben Dosa, on Tuesday and Friday nights (cf. Urbach 1979, 165). It is, however, equally possible to use these stories in order to show how much the belief in the reality of demons and wonder-works was part of everyday life, and that this belief not only rested on the authority of at least some Tannaim, among them Ḥanina ben Dosa, but that much of their reputation was dependent on this belief (it does not matter from this point of view if the stories are historically accurate or not). We can see from these stories how a model of a person was created, who could, by his piety and inherent power, fight the threatening presence of the demons.

It seems that such wonder-working rabbis were expected to serve the needs of the community. Ḥanina ben Dosa and Joshua ben Levi had the special capacity to cause rain; the people of Sepphoris complained that Ḥanina ben Dosa did not use his power for bringing rain, while Joshua ben Levi did (PT Taan 3.4 66b; see Levine 1985, 72). An outbreak of plague in Sepphoris did not touch the quarter where Ḥanina ben Dosa resided. In response to the complaint of the people of the town, he blamed them for not being sufficiently pious (PT Taan 3.4 66c; cf., with further comments, Levine 1985, 81). It is this perception of service to the community by averting evil that underlies the stories of Ḥanina ben Dosa's encounter with the female demon.

There also exists a probably apocryphal composition, attributed to Ḥanina ben Dosa, called *Pišra de-Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa*. This is a short treatise preserved in Ms. Vaticano ebr. 216, fols. 4^v–6^v and edited by Tocci 1986 (cf. also Tocci 1984).

The following bowls are written in a very similar ductus, which can be described as skilful and professional, and may have all been executed by the same hand: JBA 1, JBA 2, JBA 3, JBA 4, JBA 5, JBA 6, JBA 7 and JBA 9. Bowl JBA 10 shows a similar hand, but with greater spaces between the lines. It could be by the same hand as that of the writer of MS 1927/9 and MS 1927/60. Perhaps the best specimen of this text is contained in JBA 9.

Most of the bowls carrying the *historiola* of Ḥanina ben Dosa were prepared for two of the more prominent owners of bowls in the Schøyen Collection, Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh (JBA 1, JBA 2, JBA 3 and JBA 4) and Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, known as Kuṭus (JBA 5, JBA 6, JBA 7, JBA 9 and JBA 10). As seen above, they were all written in a style of handwriting that could have been carried out by the same person or by scribes who belonged to the same school or family. The two clients mentioned here seem themselves to have been related to each other.

It appears that these incantations are primarily aimed at healing migraine (e.g. JBA 3:3 and JBA 4:3) and counteracting blindness (e.g. JBA 7:15, JBA 11:18 and JBA 12:18), possibly indicative of a link between the two. Thus the spirit countered in these texts is typically called 'gg bt brwq bt brwqt' bt nqwr bt nmwn, which, although we have translated them as proper names, could be understood in the sense of "Agag daughter of cataract, daughter of glaucoma, daughter of the gouger, daughter of the plucker". The first two terms both refer to eye diseases. The verb NQR is used in the sense of gouging out the eyes, and this is perhaps how we should understand the root NMN. This evil spirit is then described as follows: msmyt' mṭryt' 'wyr' qrn lyky "They call you blinder, smiter, sightless". The first epithet, msmyt', may alternatively mean "blinded", i.e. a pass. rather than act. ptc.

The phrase dy pg' byh brby ḥnyn' bn dws' "who met Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa" occurs consistently in the different versions (e.g. JBA 1:8, JBA 2:8, JBA 3:9 etc.). The prep. b- before the name of Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa indicates that the subject of the verb pg' is the fem. rwh' byšt' "evil spirit". The spelling pg' is thus an apocopated 3 p. fem. sg. form. A non-apocopated form pg' occurs in JBA 8:5. For such forms in general, see Morgenstern 2011a, 183–186. Although we have translated pg' as "met", it could be rendered "came up against" or the like. The same verb is used in a similar *historiola* in Syriac, where it refers to the

angel Gabriel rather than the demon. There, the Evil Eye is said to go out of the “eye of the heart” and the angel Gabriel comes upon her (pg^c bh). A dialogue ensues in which he asks her where she is going, and she answers that she is going to destroy “men, women, boys, girls, and souls of cattle and of fowl” (see Gollancz 1912, 68–70). In the Mandaic *Šafta d Pišra d Ainia*, the verb PGA is used to describe how the Evil Eye comes upon her victims (see, e.g., Drower 1937, 591, l. 42 and 594, l. 270).

The female body is said to have 252 limbs in JBA 4:15 and JBA 9:15, 18, while it is said to have 248 limbs in JBA 11:13–14 and JBA 12:13. The larger number is correct, according to the rabbinical literature (see *Yalqut Šim’oni*, Vayyeše, 126, section beginning with *Amar Rabbi Yoḥanan*—reprint Jerusalem 1959/60, 76), whereas the smaller number usually refers to the body of a male. The references to the female body having 66 limbs in JBA 4:15 and JBA 9:15–16 are not otherwise attested.

The phrase lmytb ‘l ryš’ lmy^c mwh’ lm’ly bšyd’yn lmyzm b’wdnyn recurs (JBA 2:12, JBA 4:13, JBA 6:12–13; cf. also JBA 9:13). We have translated it as “to sit upon the head, to crush the skull, to go up in the temples, to buzz in the ears”. For the expression YTB + ‘l “to sit upon” in reference to demons harming a part of the body, see Müller-Kessler 1999. The second verb is probably from the root P^c, which is so far attested in JBA only under the form P^cP^c “to break, penetrate” (*DJBA*, 923), but Syr. has the verb P^c “to beat, crush” (*SL*, 1216–1217). The third verb, lm’ly “to go up”, appears to be a Hebraism. It is possible, however, that the original reading was lmy’l “to enter”. JBA 9:13, on the other hand, reads lmyšly “to ring”, which is probably the original reading (see Matthew Morgenstern’s discussion in the Introduction to this volume). The phrase could mean “to lie in ambush in the temples” (cf. Syr. šly, which is used in respect of Satan; *SL*, 1288, meaning 2.a.3) paralleling lmytb “to sit”. The fourth verb is probably to be derived from the root ZWM or ZMM, an onomatopoeic root comparable with JBA ZMZM “to make a musical type of sound” (*DJBA*, 415) and Ar. *zamzama* “to buzz, hum”.

The phrase yhwh mlk yhwh m(‘)lk yhwh yml(w)k l’wlm w’d occurs a number of times (JBA 1:12, JBA 3:13, JBA 4:12, JBA 5:10, JBA 6:12, JBA 7:12–13, JBA 9:12, JBA 10:12; cf. also JBA 11:15–16, JBA 12:15). It appears to be derived from Ps 10:16 and Ex 15:18, and is a combination often used in Jewish liturgy.

The sequence of *nomina barbara* in JBA 1:12–14, JBA 3:13–14 and JBA 7:13–14 recalls the magical formula hwy^t dpqyq dpqyq hwy^t in BT Shab 67a. The continuation of the Talmudic formula is found in M-K 11:6–7, while both parts occur in JNF 112:6. See also MS 2046:16 and Montgomery 29:3–4 (reading from the hand copy): dpqq hwy^t hwt pšk m’zn.

For further comments on the figure of Ḥanina ben Dosa in the magic bowls, and partial editions of JBA 1 and JBA 9, see Shaked 2005a, 11–16, 18–19, 26–28 (cf. also Ford 1998, 265).

Parallels for this formula, outside the Schøyen Collection, include M 156.

Other spells that occur in the bowls in this section:

Daughter of Bal’in—JBA 2:12, JBA 4:12, JBA 6:12, JBA 9:12

Great Yahoq Yahoq—JBA 2:13, JBA 4:14, JBA 6:15, JBA 9:14

You disclosed your mystery to flesh and blood—JBA 9:16

180 × 50 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. There is a small hairline fracture. Some words are in a cartouche.

The writing is partly faded towards the rim.

Linguistic and orthographic features: There is a redundant *he* in **bhhhhy'** (l. 8).

Client: Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh.

Biblical quotations: Ps 104:20; Ex 15:3; Ps 24:8; Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| לשמך אני עושה קדישה | 1 | By your name I act, great |
| רבה אסותא מן שמה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת | 2 | holy one. May there be healing from heaven for Mahdukh daughter of |
| ניונדוך ותיתסי ויתנטר מן כל רוחין מן כל זיקין ומזיקין | 3 | Newandukh. And may she be healed and protected from all spirits, from all blast demons and tormentors |
| דאית בעלמא בשום יה מלך מלכי מלכיה רפאל מיטל מילס דימפֿקדין אינון על מחת | 4 | that exist in the world. By the name of Yah, King of kings of kings, Raphael, Miṭal, Milas, who are appointed over the smiting of |
| רוחתא בישתא רוחא דשכבא בן קברי ורוחא דשכבא בין איגרי ורוחא דשכבא בפגרה בראשה | 5 | evil spirits: the spirit that reclines among the graves, and the spirit that reclines among the roof-tops, and the spirit that reclines in the body, in the head, |
| בצידעה באודנה ובבית גילגליהי דעינה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך ורוחא דישמה אגג בת ברוק בת ברוקתא בת | 6 | in the temple, in the ear, and in the eye-sockets of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, and the spirit whose name is Agag daughter of Baroq, daughter of Baroqta, daughter of |
| נקור בת נמון בת עין רעה מסמיתא מטריא עורחא קרן לבי מחגרתא קרן לבי גרבניתא קרן לבי שפופתי קרן לבי | 7 | Naqor, daughter of Namon, daughter of the evil eye. They call you blinder, smiter, sightless; they call you lame, they call you itchy, they call you crawler. |
| מומינה עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא [די פ]גע ב[יה בר]בי חנינא בן דוסא ואמר לה רבי חנינא בין דוסא לרוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה בההיא שעתא קראה | 8 | I adjure you, you, evil spirit, [who m]et [Ra]bbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, and Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa said to her, to the evil spirit who met him at that time, the verse |
| דיכתב תשית חושך ויהי לי לילה בו תירמוס כל חיתו יער ותוב מומינה ותוב משבענא עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא דלא תיזילין ולא תיהוין לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך לא | 9 | that is written: "You make darkness and it i[s ni]ght, wherein all the animals of the forest creep". And again I adjure and again I beswear you, you, evil spirit, that you should not go and not become to Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, neither |

3. **wytnṭr**: Error for **wtytnṭr** or **wtyntṭr** (cf. JBA 2:4). Cf. also MS 1927/60:2 for a similar error by the same scribe.

8. **bhhhhy'**: For **bhhhy'**.

9. Ps 104:20.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>צותא דליליה ולא צותא דליליה ודיממא דאם [אז] לַת ורדפת בפגרה בראִישָׁה בְּצִידְעָה באודנה באטמה ובבית גילגליה דעינה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך אתי רוּחָא בִּי [שתא]</p> <p>[י] שְׁמַתָּון יְתִי [כי] ו [ית] בְּרוּן יְתִי ויחר־מון יתיכי כמה] דאיתברו כרכין תקיפין יִשְׁתַּדְּרו עליהון נוראל רפאל ומיכאל בשמיה דיהוה יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שְׁמוּ יְהוֹה</p> <p>[עיוז וגבור] יְהוֹה גִּיבור מלחמה יהוה מלך [יְהוֹה מִלְךְ יהוה יִמְלִיךְ [לעול] ׀ ועד [ר] אש אשתוק כוש מורו מטמון פִּסְקון פִּסְקוֹן [--- אטר] גִּל אִטר [טר] יגל קלשֶׁק קִלְשֶׁן [ק] ק [לש] [ק] ---]</p> <p>[--- מט] מון אטרִגֶּל אטריגל קלשֶׁק קלשֶׁק חית חית חית דפקת דִּי [פקת] חִית [---]</p> <p>חית חִית אס עפר בניג</p> | <p>10 a companion of the night nor a companion of night and day. For if you [g]o and persecute the body, head, temple, ear, thigh, and eye-sockets of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, you, e[vil] spirit,</p> <p>11 they [will] ban [you] and [b]reak you and excommu[n]icate you just as] mighty fortified cities were broken, against which Nurael, Raphael and Michael were sent. By the name of YHWH, “YHWH is a man of war, YHWH is his name”. “YHWH</p> <p>12 [strong and mighty], YHWH mi[g]hty in battle”. “YHWH is king], YHWH re[igns, YHWH shall] reign [for eve]r and ever”. <i>nomina barbara</i></p> <p>13 <i>nomina barbara</i></p> <p>14 <i>nomina barbara</i></p> |
|--|--|

10–12. For the restored text, cf. JBA 4:11–12.

11. Ex 15:3.

11-12. Ps 24:8.

12. Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18.



JBA 1 (MS 1927/8)

180 × 60 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The rim is chipped. The writing is partly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle.

Clients: Gundas son of Rašewandukh; Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh; Mihroy daughter of Mahdukh, nicknamed Rašewandukh.

Biblical quotations: Ps 104:20; Ex 15:3.

Image: In the centre of the bowl there is an *ouroboros*—a snake that swallows its own tail. The drawing is poorly preserved so it is hard to identify all its details. It is possible to discern the remains of stripes along the snake's body and its open mouth. There is something within the circle made by the snake's body, but it is very faded.



Fig. 6: Artist's impression of image from JBA 2.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| [א] סֹתָא [---] | 1 | (May there be) [he]aling [---] |
| [---] לִישְׁמִי אָנִי | 2 | [---] By your name I |
| עושה קדישאַ [רבה א] סֹתָא [מן שמיא תיהוי ל] הֶ לְגֹנְדָאֵס בְּ[ר רשיונדוך ולמה] דְּוִיָּךְ בת | 3 | act, [great] holy one. [May there be he]aling [from heaven] for Gundas so[n of Rašewandukh and for Mah]dukh daughter of |
| ניו[גדו]ך [ו] תִּינְטֵר וְתִיֶּתֶס [י ---] מִן רוּחַ [---] מה מִן רוּחַ | 4 | Newa[ndu]kh. [And] may she be protected and heale[d ---] from the spirit of [---], from the spirit of |
| [---] מן כל זיק[י] ו[מזיקי] דְּאִיתִּי בְּע[למ] הֶ בְּשׁוּם יָהּ מֶלֶךְ [מל] כִּי מֶלְכִּיָּהּ רַפָּאֵל מִיטַל [מילס] דִּימְפַקְדִּין אינון על מחת רוחאָא בישתא | 5 | [---] from all blast demo[n]s and [tormentor]s that exist in the wo[rld]. By the name of Yah, King of [kin]gs of kings, Raphael, Miṭal, [Milas], who are appointed over the smiting of evil spirits: |

4. wtyntṛ: An assimilated *itpe.* form (< wtyntṛ).

- רוחא דשכבה בן קבר[י ו]ר[חא] דשכבה בן איגרי ורוחא
דשכבה בפג[ר]ה בראישה בצידעה באודנה במוחה באודנה
במוקרה ויבבית גילגליה
- 6 the spirit that reclines among the grave[s, and the] spi[rit] that reclines among the roof-tops, and the spirit that reclines in the bod[y], in the head, in the temple, in the ear, in the skull, in the ear, in the brain, and in the eye-
- [ד] עינה דמהדוך בת[] ניונדו[ך] ורוחא ד[י] שמה אגג [ב]ת
ב[ר] וק[] בת ברוקתא בת נקור בת נמון בת צילחתא בת עינא
בישתא מסמיתא מטריא עוריא קרן ליכי מחגרתא קרן לכי
- 7 sockets of Mahdukh daughter of [Newandu]kh, and the spirit w[h]ose name is Agag [daug]hter of Ba[r]oq, daughter of Baroqta, daughter of Naqor, daughter of Namon, daughter of migraine, daughter of the evil eye. They call you blinder, smiter, sightless; they call you lame,
- גרבניתא קרן לכי מסמיתא קרן ליכי שפופתי קרן ליכי
גרבתא קרן לכי מומינא ומשבענא עלכי אנתי רוחא
בישתא דיפגע ביה ברבי חנינא בן [ד] וסא ואמר לה רבי
- 8 they call you itchy, they call you blinder, they call you crawler, [they call you itchy]. I adjure and beswear you, you, evil spirit, who met Rabbi Ḥanina ben [D]osa, and Rabbi [Ḥa]nina ben
- [ח] נינא בן דוסא לרוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה בהיא שעתא
קראה [דיכ] חייב תשית חושך ויהי לילה בו תירמוס כל חיתו
יאער ותוב מ[ו] מינה ותוב משבענא עלכי אנתי רוחא
ביש[תא]
- 9 Dosa said to her, to the evil spirit who met him at that time, the verse [that is wr]itten: “You make darkness and it is night, wherein all the animals of the forest creep”. And again I a[d]jure and again I beswear you, you, [evi]l spiri[t],
- [ד] לא תיזילי ו[] א תיהוין לה [למיהרוי דמיתקרי]א רשיונדוך
בת מהדוך לא צותא דלילה ולא צותא דיממה דאם אזלת
ורדת בפגרה בראישה ובבית גילגליה דעינה דמיה[ר]וי
דשמה רשיונדוך
- 10 [that] you should not go and no[t become] to Mihroy, who is calle[d Rašewandukh] daughter of Mahdukh, neither a companion of the night nor a companion of the day. For if you go and persecute the body, head, and eye-sockets of Mih[r]oy, whose name is Rašewandukh
- [ב]ת מהדוך --- כמה דאיתברו כר[] כין תקיפין דאישתדרו
עליהון נוראל רפאל ומיכאל בשמיה דיהוה יהוה א[י]ש
מלחמה יהוה שמו יהוה ---
- 11 [daug]hter of [Mahdukh --- just as] mighty [forti]fied cities [were broken], against which Nurael, Raphael and Michael were sent. By the name of YHWH, “YHWH is a m[a]n of war, YHWH is his name”. “Y[HWH ---]
- בת בלעין ורגזאל שדר ליכי למיתב על רישא למיפגע
מוחא למעלי ב[] צידע[] ל[] זמ[] ב[] ודני[] --- לשגשג[א]
- 12 [---] daughter of Bal'in, and Ragziel sent you to sit upon the head, to crush the skull, to go up in the [temp]les, to bu[zz] in the e[ars, ---], to confus[e]
- [פרצו] פ[] ו[] חבלא גופא --- ליכי ובסיהר[א] מ[ש]ני יתיכי
מומינה עלכי בשמיה דיה[] וק[] וק[] רבה[] דידחק מ[ר] כבתיה
על ימה [דסוף דתיח]ין ותינחין מן רשיונדוך
- 13 [the counten]ance, and [to] damage the body [---] you, and by [the] moon he [dr]ives you mad. I adjure you by the name of [the great] Yah[oq] Yah[oq], who pushed his c[h]ariot over the [Red] Sea, [that you may mov]e and be removed from Rašewandukh,
- דישמ[ה] מיהרוי בת[] מהד[ך] ו[] שרי[] וקים לעלם ועד[] ---
- 14 who[se] name is Mihroy daughter of [Mahd]ukh [--- Sound] and established for ever and ever [---]

9. Ps 104:20.

11. Ex 15:3.



JBA 2 (MS 1927/29)

180×50 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle.

Client: Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh.

Biblical quotations: Ps 104:20; Ex 15:3; Ps 24:8; Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18.

- | | | |
|---|----|--|
| לישמך אני עושה קדישא | 1 | By your name I act, great |
| רבא אסותא מן שמה תייהוילה למהדוך | 2 | holy one. May there be healing from heaven for Mahdukh |
| בת ניונדוך ותיאסי מן רוח צילחתא מן רוח ברוקתא | 3 | daughter of Newandukh. And may she be healed from the spirit of migraine, from the spirit of Baroqta, |
| מן רוח ריפסי ומן חומרין בישן ומן רוחין זידנין בשום יה מלך | 4 | from the spirit of weakness (?), and from evil amulet spirits, and from wicked spirits. By the name of Yah, King of |
| מלכי מלכיה רפאל מיטל מילס דימפקדין אינון על מחת רוחין בישן רוחא דשכבה בן קברי | 5 | kings of kings, Raphael, Miṭal, Milas, who are appointed over the smiting of evil spirits: the spirit that reclines among the graves, |
| ורוחא דשכבא בן איגרי ורוחא דשכבה בפגרה ברישה בליבה בימעה ובבית גילגליה דעינה | 6 | and the spirit that reclines among the roof-tops, and the spirit that reclines in the body, in the head, in the heart, in the bowels, and in the eye-sockets |
| דמהדוך בת ניונדוך ורוחא דישימה אגג בת ברוק בת ברוקתא בת נקור בת נמון בת עין רעה מסמיתא מטריטא עוריתא | 7 | of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, and the spirit whose name is Agag daughter of Baroq, daughter of Baroqta, daughter of Naqor, daughter of Namon, daughter of the evil eye. They call you blinder, smiter, |
| קרן לכי מחגרתא קרן לכי גרבניתא קרן לכי שפופתי קרן לכי גרבניתא קרן לכי מומינה ומשבענא עלכי אנתי רוחא | 8 | sightless; they call you lame, they call you itchy, they call you crawler, they call you itchy. I adjure and beswear you, you, evi[1] |
| בִּישְׁתָּ [א] דיפגע ביה ברבי חנינא בן דוסא ואמר לה רבי חנינא בִּן דוסא לרוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה בההיא שעתא קראה דכתיב | 9 | spirit, who met Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, and Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa said to her, to the evil spirit who met him at that time, the verse that is written: |
| ת[שית] חוש[ך] ויהי לילה בו תירמוס כל חיתו יער ותוב מומינה ותוב משבענה עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא דלא תיזלין ולא תיהוין לה למהדוך [בת] | 10 | “You [make] darkne[ss] and it is night, wherein all the animals of the forest creep”. And again I adjure and again I beswear you, you, evil spirit, that you should not go and not become to Mahdukh [daughter of] |

4. *rwḥ rypsy*: “spirit of weakness” (see the note to JBA 7:8).

8. There is an extraneous stroke before the *lamed* in the second *lky*; it is either a false start or simply a poorly written *lamed*.

10. Ps 104:20.

- 11 נְיוֹנְדֹךְ [וֹךְ] לֹא [צוֹתָא] דְּלִיָּלָיָהּ וְלֹא צוֹתָא דִּימְמָה דָּאס אֶזְלָת
וֹרְדַפְתָּ בַּפְגְּרָה בְּרִישָׁהּ בְּצִידְעָהּ בְּאוֹדְנָהּ וּבְבִתָּהּ גִּילְגְּלִיָּהּ דְּעִינָה
דְּמַהֲדוֹךְ בַּת נְיוֹנְדוֹךְ אֲנִתִּי רוּחָא בִּישְׁתָּא [יִשְׁמַת] אֵין
- 12 יִתְכִּי [וִיתְבְּרוֹן יִתְכִּי וִיחַרְמוֹן יִתְכִּי] כְּמָה דִּאִיתְבְּרוֹן כְּרַכִּין
תְּקִיפִין שְׁדֵרוֹן עֲלֵיהוֹן נִזְרָאֵל רַפָּאֵל וּמִיכָאֵל בִּישְׁמִיָּהּ דִּיהוּהּ יְהוּהּ
אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה יְהוּהּ שְׁמוֹ יְהוּהּ עִיזוֹ וְגִיבּוֹ [ר] יְהוּהּ גִּיבּוֹר
- 13 וּמִלְחָ [מָה] יְהוּהּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּהּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּהּ יִמְלֹךְ [לְעוֹ] לָם וְ[עַד
--- כּוֹשׁ] מוֹרֵוֹ מִטְמוֹן פִּסְקוֹן פִּסְקוֹן מִטְמוֹן אֵ [טְרַג] לֵ [אֵט] רִיגֵל
קְלֶשֶׁק קְלֶשֶׁק חֵית חֵית דְּ[פ] קֶת דְּפֶקֶת חֵית
- 14 דְּ[ק]ת דְּפֶקֶת חֵית [---] אִמֵּן [אִמֵּן] סֶלָה *nomina barbara* [---] Ame[n, Amen], Selah.

12. *yṭbrn*: The final letter may possibly be a lengthened *waw*, but the same reading also seems to occur in JBA 4:11 and JBA 7:12 (alongside *yṣṭdrn*), all most likely written by the same hand. Other parallels read *yṭbrw* (see p. 43 and the Glossary).

Ex 15:3.

12–13. Ps 24:8; note *wmlḥmh* for MT *mlḥmh*.

13. Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18; note *m'lk* for MT *mlk*.



JBA 3 (MS 1927/45)

185×65 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a portion. The text is surrounded by a circle.

Client: Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh.

Biblical quotations: Ps 104:20; Ex 15:3; Ps 24:8; Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18.

| | | |
|---|----|--|
| לישמך אני עושה קדישא | 1 | By your name I act, great |
| רבה דין קמיעא יהוי לה למהדוך | 2 | holy one. This amulet shall be for Mahdukh |
| בת ניונדוך ותיתסי מן צילחתא דרישה מן כול | 3 | daughter of Newandukh. And may she be healed from the migraine of her head, from all |
| רוחין ומן כל זיקין ומזיקין דאית בעלמא בשום יה רבה מלך מלכ ⁶ | 4 | spirits, and from all blast demons and tormentors that exist in the world. By the name of the great Yah, King of kings of |
| מלכיה רפאל מיטל מילס דימפקדין אינון על מאחת רוחתא בישתא רוחא דשכבה | 5 | kings, Raphael, Miṭal, Milas, who are appointed over the smiting of evil spirits: the spirit that reclines |
| בן קברי ורוחא דשכבה בן איגרי ורוחא דשכבא בפגרה ברישה באודנה ובצידעה ויבבית גילגליה | 6 | among the graves, and the spirit that reclines among the roof-tops, and the spirit that reclines in the body, in the head, in the ear, in the temple, and in the eye-sockets |
| דעינה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך ורוחא דישמה אגג בת ברוק בת ברוקתא בת נקור בת נמון בת עין רעה בת צילחתא | 7 | of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, and the spirit whose name is Agag daughter of Baroq, daughter of Baroqta, daughter of Naqor, daughter of Namon, daughter of the evil eye, daughter of migraine. |
| מסמיתא מטריטא עוירטא קרן ליכי מחגרתא קרן לכי גרבנית קרן ליכי שפופתי קרן ליכי מומינה ומשבענה עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא | 8 | They call you blinder, smiter, sightless; they call you lame, they call you itchy, they call you crawler. I adjure and beswear you, you, evil spirit, |
| דיפגע ביה ברבי חנינא בן דוסא ואמר לה רבי חנינא בן דוסא לרוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה בההיא שעתא קראה דיכתיב תשית חושך ויהי לילה בו תירמוס | 9 | who met Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, and Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa said to her, to the evil spirit who met him at that time, the verse that is written: "You make darkness and it is night, wherein |
| כל חיתו יאער ותוב מומינה ותוב (משבענה) עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא דלא תיזלין ולא תיהוין לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך לא צותא דליליה ולא צותא דיממה דאם אזלת | 10 | all the animals of the forest creep". And again I adjure and again (I beswear) you, you, evil spirit, that you should not go and not become to Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, neither a companion of the night nor a companion of the day. For if you go |

6. 'ygry: The 'aleph appears to be a correction from qoph, suggesting that the scribe began to write qbry a second time. 9–10. Ps 104:20.

10. (mšb'nh): For this missing verb, cf. JBA 1:9.

- 11 ורדתה בפגרה ברישה בצידעה באודנה ויבליבה ויבכל הדמי
קומתה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך אנתי רוחא בישתא ישמתון יתיכי
ויתברון יתיכי ויחרמון יתיכי כמה דאית[בר]ן
and persecute the body, head, temple, ear, heart, and
all the members of the body of Mahdukh daughter
of Newandukh, you, evil spirit, they will ban you and
break you and excommunicate you just as mighty
fortified cities
- 12 כרכין תקפין דאישתדרו עליהון נוראל רפאל ומיכאל בשמיה
דיהוה יהוה שמו יהוה עיוזו וגבור יהוה גיב[ו]ן ו[מל]חמה
יה[וה] מלך יהוה מאלך יה[וה] ימלוד לעולם ועד מומינה עלכי
אנתי ר[וחא] בישתא
were br[oke]n, against which Nurael, Raphael and
Michael were sent. By the name of YHWH, “YHWH is
his name”. “YHWH strong and mighty, YHWH migh[t]y
in [ba]ttle”. “YH[WH] is king, YHWH] reigns, YH[WH]
shall reign for ever and ever]”. I adjure you, you, evil
sp[irit],
- 13 דמיתקריה בת [בל]עין ורגזאל שדר ליכי למיתב על רישא
למיפע מוחא למעלי בצידעין למיזם באודנן למי[ת]ב על
עיני[ן] לשגשא פרוצופין ויל[חבלא] --- ט[מירין]
who is called daughter of [Bal]‘in, and Ragziel sent
you to sit upon the head, to crush the skull, to go up
in the temples, to buzz in the ears, to [si]t upon the
eye[s], to confuse the countenance, and to [harm ---
h]idden.
- 14 דחזי ליכי בשימשה מרמי [ליכי] ובסיהרא משני יתיכי מומינה
עלכי ומשבענה עלכי בשמיה דיהוק יהוק רבה דיד[ח]ק
מ[רכב]תיה על ימה דסוף דתיזחין ותינזחין[ן] --- מן ריאה מן
The one who sees you, by the sun he hurls [you], and
by the moon he drives you mad. I adjure you and I
beswear you by the name of the great Yahoq Yahoq,
who pu[sh]ed his ch[ario]t over the Red Sea, that
you may move and be remove[d ---] from the head,
from
- 15 צידעה מן [---] ומן חומרין בישן ומן רוחין זידנן מן מתן חמשין
ויתרין הדמין דאית בה מן ל[בה] מן שורני קומתה מן שיתין
ושיתה הדמי קומ[תה] ---
the temple, from [---] and from evil amulet spirits,
and from wicked spirits, from the two hundred and
fifty-two members that there are in her, from [her]
hea[rt], from the sinews of her body, from the
sixty-six members of [her] bod[y ---]

11. 'ytbrn: See the note to JBA 3:12.

12. yhw h smw: Ex 15:3. It appears that the scribe neglected to quote the first part of this verse (cf. JBA 3:12).

Ps 24:8; note wmlhmlh for MT mlhmlh.

Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18; note m'lk for MT mlk.



JBA 4 (MS 1927/47)

190 x 70 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The rim is chipped. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired.

Most of the text is preserved, but there is some fading towards the rim. The text is surrounded by a circle. It appears that, in l. 10, the scribe's flow was interrupted by a scratch in the bowl.

Client: Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, nicknamed Kuṭus.

Biblical quotations: Ps 104:20; Ex 15:3; Ps 24:8; Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18; Zech 3:2.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| אסותה מן שמיה תיהוי לה למיהרנחיד | 1 | May there be healing from heaven for Mihranahid |
| בת אחת {א} לישמך אני עושה קדישא רבה יה מלך מלכיה | 2 | daughter of Aḥat. By your name I act, great holy one, Yah, King of kings, |
| רפאל מיטל מילס דימפקדין אינון על מחת רוחתא בישתא רוחא | 3 | Raphael, Miṭal, Milas, who are appointed over the smiting of evil spirits: the spirit |
| דשכבה בן קברי וְבִן אִיגְרִי וְרוּחָא דְשִׁכְבָּה בִּפְגָרָה בְּרִישָׁה וּבִבְיַת גִּלְגָּלִיָּה דְעִינָה דְמִיְהֲרִנְהִיד | 4 | that reclines among the graves and among the roof-tops, and the spirit that reclines in the body, in the head, and in the eye-sockets of Mihranahid |
| בת אחת דְּמִיתְקִרְיָא כּוּטוּס וְרוּחָא דִישְׁמָה אַגַּג בת ברוק בת ברוקתא בת נקור בת נמון בת עין רעה מסמיתא | 5 | daughter of Aḥat, who is called Kuṭus, and the spirit whose name is Agag daughter of Baroq, daughter of Baroqta, daughter of Naqor, daughter of Namon, daughter of the evil eye. They call you |
| מטריא עוֹיִרְתָּא קֶרֶן לְכִי מִחְגֵּרְתָּא קֶרֶן לְכִי גִרְבִּנְתָּא קֶרֶן לְכִי מוּמִינָה וּמִשְׁבַּעְנָה עֲלֵיךְ אֲנִי רוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה ברבי חנינא | 6 | blinder, smiter, sightless; they call you lame, they call you itchy. I adjure and beswear you, you, evil spirit, who met Rabbi Ḥanina |
| בן דוסא ואמר לה רבי חנינא בן דוסא לרוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה בההיא שעתא קראה דיכתוב תשית חשך ויהי לילה בו תירמוס כל | 7 | ben Dosa, and Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa said to her, to the evil spirit who met him at that time, the verse that is written: "You make darkness and it is night, wherein all the animals of |
| חיתו יער וְתוֹבֵב מוּמִינָה וְתוּבֵב] מְ]שְׁבַעְנָה] עֲלֵיךְ אֲנִי רוחא בישתא דלא תילין ולא תִּהְיוּן לָהּ לְמִיְהֲרָ[נְהִיד] בְּתָּ אחת דמיתקריא כּוּטוּס לא צותא דליליה ודיממה | 8 | the forest creep". And again I adjure and agai[n] I be[swear] you, you, evil spirit, that you should not go and not become to Mihra[nahid] daughter of Aḥat, who is called Kuṭus, not a companion of the night or of the day. |
| דאם [אזלת ורדפ]ת בְּפִגְרָיָה בְּרִישָׁה וּבַכְּלֵי הַדְּמִיָּה קוּמְתִּיָּה יִשְׁמְתוּן יִתְיָבִי וְ[תִבְ]רֹן וְ[יִתְ]כִּי וְ[יִחְ]רַם[ן] יִתְיָבִי כְּמָה דְּאִתְּבָרוּ כְּרִכִּין תְּקִפִּין שְׂדֵר[ו] עֲלֵי[הוּן] נוראל | 9 | For if [you go and persecute] her body, her head, and al[l] the members of[] her body, they will ban you and [bre]ak you and excom[municate] you just as mighty fortified cities were broken. [They] sent [against] them Nurael, |

7-8. Ps 104:20.

8. **dmytqry'**: The *reš* appears to have been written like a *taw*.

- 10 רפאל ומיכאל בישמיה דיהוה יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו
יהוה עי[זו]י? [ו]גיבור יהוה ג[יבו]ר ומלחמה [יה]וה מלך
יה[ו]ה מאלף יהוה [י]מלך לעלם ועד אמן אמ[ו]ן—[ס]לה
ויאמר יהוה אל
- 11 השטן יגער יהוה בך [השט]ן יגער יהוה בך הבחר בירושלים
ה[ל]א א [ז]ה אוד מו[צ]ל מיאש
- Raphael and Michael. By the name of YHWH, “YHWH is a man of war, YHWH is his name”. “YHWH str[on]g [and] mighty, YHWH m[igh]ty in battle”. “[YH]WH is king, YH[w]H reigns, YHWH [shall] reign for ever and ever”. Amen, Ame[n, Se]lah. “And YHWH said unto
- Satan, YHWH rebuke you, [O Sata]n, even YHWH that has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you. Is [th]is [n]ot a brand plu[cked] out of the fire?”.

10. Ex 15:3.

Ps 24:8; note wmlḥmh for MT mlḥmh.

Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18; note m'lk for MT mlk.

10–11. Zech 3:2.



JBA 5 (MS 1927/64)

185 × 55 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a large portion. The text is surrounded by a circle and some words are in a cartouche.

Client: Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, nicknamed Kuṭus.

Biblical quotations: Ps 104:20; Ex 15:3; Ps 24:8; Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 אסותא מן שם־יה תיהוי לה למ־יהרנהיד</p> <p>2 בת אחת וְתִי־תָסִי [ברחמי שמיא --- לישמך א־נִי עושה]</p> <p>3 קדישא רַבָּא אֲסֹתָא מ־ן שמיא תיהוי לה למיהרנהיד בת אחת [דמיתקריא</p> <p>4 כוטוס בשום יה מלך־מ־ל־כִּיָּה [רפאל מיטל מילס דימפקדין אינון על מחת] רֹחִין בִּישָׁן</p> <p>5 רוחא דשכבא בן קברי רוחא דשכבא [בן איגרי --- בִּאֲטָמָה] ---</p> <p>6 בשקה ב־[---] בכול הדמוהי קומת־ה דמיהרנהיד בת אחת דמיתקריא כוטוס־ס וְרוּחָא דְשִׁמְהָ אַגַּג בת</p> <p>7 ברוק בת ברוקתא בת נ־ק־וֹר בת נמון בת עִין רעה מס־מיתא --- קרן לְכִי גַרְבַּנִּיתָא קרן לְכִי מוּמִינָא</p> <p>8 עֲלִי וּמִשְׁבַּעְנָא עֲלִי אֲנִי רֹחָא בִּישְׁתָּא דִּיפִגַּע בִּיה ב־ר־בִּי חֲנִינָא בִּן דּוּסָא וְאַמֶּר [לה רבי חנינא בן דוסא לרוחא בִּישְׁתָּא דִּיפִגַּע בִּיה ב־הִיא]</p> <p>9 שְׁעָתָא קִרְאָה דִּיכַת־יב־תְּשִׁית [חוֹ] שַׁךְ וִיהִי לֵילָה בּוֹ תִירְמוֹס כֹּל חֵיתוֹ יֵאָעַר וְתוֹב מוּמִינָא וְתוֹב מִשְׁבַּעְנָא עֲלִי אֲנִי רֹחָא בִישְׁתָּא דִּלָּא תִיִּלִּין וְלֹא תִיהוּן לָהּ לְמִי־הִרְנָהִיד</p> | <p>1 [May there be] healing from hea[ven for M]ihranahid</p> <p>2 daughter of Aḥat. And may she be healed [by the mercy of heaven --- By your name] I act,</p> <p>3 great holy one. [May there be] healing fr[om heaven for Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat], who is called</p> <p>4 Kuṭus. By the name of Yah, King of k[i]ngs, [Raphael, Miṭal, Milas, who are appointed over the smiting of] evil spirits:</p> <p>5 the spirit that reclines among the graves, the spirit that reclines [among the roof-tops ---] in [the] thigh [---]</p> <p>6 in the foreleg, in [---] in all the members of [the] body [of Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, who is called Kuṭu]s, and the spirit whose name is Agag daughter of</p> <p>7 Baroq, daughter of Baroqta, daughter of Na[q]or, daughter of Namon, daughter of the evil eye. (They call you bli[nder --- they call] you [---] they call you itchy. I adjure</p> <p>8 you and beswear you, you, evil spirit, who met Ra[bbi] Ḥanina ben Dosa, and [Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa] said [to her, to] the [e]vil [spirit] who met him at that</p> <p>9 time, the verse that is writ[ten]: “You make [dark]ness and it is night, wherein all the animals of the forest creep”. And again I adjure and again [I] beswe[ar you, you, evil spirit, that] you should [not] go and not become to Mihranahid</p> |
|---|--|

6. **hdmwhy qwmth**: The construction is irregular, for **hdm y qwmth** (cf. JBA 9:5).

9. Ps 104:20.

- 10 בת אחת לא צֹתָא [דלי] לִיָּה ודיממה דאם אזלת ורדפת
בפגרה [בר] יִשָּׁה בצידעה בעינה ובכל [---] דמיהרנהיד בת
כוטוס ד[מיתקריא אחת ישמתון
- 11 אנתי רוחא בישתא ישמתון יתיכי ויתברון יתיכי ויחרמון
ייתיכי כמה דאיתברו כרכין תקיפין שדרו עליהון
נורא [ל רפאל ומיכאל בשמיה דיהוה יהוה אי] ש
מלחמ [ה יהוה] שמו יהוה
- 12 עִיזוּ וגִּבּוֹר יְהוָה גִּבּוֹר ומלחמה יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך
יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד] אמן מומינא עלכי אנתי רוחא בן[שתא
דמיתקריא בת בלעין וגזיאל שדר ליכי למית] ב על רישא
[למיפע]
- 13 מֹחָא לָמַ [על] צידעין למיזם באודנין למיתב על עינין לשגשא
פרצופין וילחבלא גופא כוליה ואנתי רוחא בישתא יהון רזכי
טמירין דחוי ל[יכי --- בינקי] שיא וב[---] תא
- 14 [---] משנית לי[---] מומינ[נ]ה עלכי ומשבענא ומוימנא עלכי
אנתי רוחא בישתא ורוח צילפתא ורוח
[---] ורוח
- 15 [---] בשמיה דיהוק יהוק רבה דידחק מרכבתיה על ימה דסוף
דתיזחין ותעדן ותיפקין מינה מן [מי] הרנהיד בת אחת
דמיתקריא [כוטוס ---]
- 16 [---] אמ[נ] אמן סלה ראש אשתוק כוש מורו סטמון פסוק[ו]
פסוקון מטמון אטרגל אטריגל קלשק קלשק אמן אמן סלה
- 10 daughter of Aḥat, neither a companion [of] the
[ni]ght nor of the day. For if you go and persecute
the body, [h]ead, temple, eye, and all [---] of
Mihranahid daughter of Kuṭus who] is called Aḥat,
they will ban,
you, evil spirit, they will ban you and break you and
excommunicate you just as mighty fortified cities
were broken. They sent against them Nurāe[l,
Raphael and Michael. By the name of YHWH, “YHWH
is a ma]n of wa[r, YHWH] is his name”. “YHWH
strong and mighty, YHWH mighty in battle”. “YHWH is
king, YHWH reigns, YHWH shall reign for ever and
ever”. Amen. I adjure you, you, ev[il] spirit, [who is
called daughter of Bal’in, and Ragziel sent you to si]t
upon the head, [to crush]
the skull, to g[o u]p in the temples, to buzz in the
ears, to sit upon the eyes, to confuse the
countenance, and to harm the whole body. And you,
evil spirit, may your mysteries be hidden. The one
who sees [you --- with clap]ping and with [---]
[---] you drive [---] mad, I adjur[e] you and I beswear
and adjure you, you, evil spirit, and the spirit of
migraine, and the spirit of Šilfata, and the spirit of
[---] and the spirit of
[---] by the name of the great Yahoq Yahoq, who
pushed his chariot over the Red Sea, that you may
move and go away and depart from [Mi]hranahid
daughter of Aḥat, who is called [Kuṭus ---]
[---] Ame]n, Amen, Selah. *nomina barbara* Amen,
Amen, Selah.

10. *dmytqry' ḥt*: Cf. MS 1927/41:7, where the same client is exceptionally called *myhrnhyd br kwṭws dmytqry' ḥt* “Mihranahid son (!) of Kuṭus, who is called Aḥat”.

11. Ex 15:3.

11–12. Ps 24:8; note *wmlḥmh* for MT *mlḥmh*.

12. Ps 103:6; Ex 15:18; note *m'lk* for MT *mlk*.

13. *bynqyšy'*: Restored according to JBA 9:13. The text in ll. 13b–15a appears to diverge from the parallels. More of the text could be read if an exact parallel were to be found.

14. *mšnyt*: “you drive mad”; the text differs from the parallels (e.g. JBA 4:14 and JBA 9:14), which read *mšny tytyky* “he drives you mad”. The traces of the previous word may read *myrm'y*, but the context is not clear.

mwyman': Error for *mwmyn'*.

rwḥ šylpt': Perhaps “spirit of wounding”; cf. JNF 109:8–9, which also mentions *šylpt'* and *šylḥt'* in the same context.

16. *stmnwn*: The first letter may be a poorly formed *mem*, in accordance with the parallels (e.g. JBA 3:13).



JBA 6 (MS 2053/10)

183 × 48 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing some portions. The text is surrounded by a circle and some words are in cartouches.

Linguistic and orthographic features: There is a redundant final *he* in *dws'h* (l. 9; see p. 40).

Other features: There is a label indicating the contents (l. 15).

Client: Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, nicknamed Kuṭus.

Biblical quotations: Ps 104:20; Ex 15:3; Ps 24:8; Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| אסותא מן שמה תיהוי לה | 1 | May there be healing from heaven for |
| למיהרנהיד בת אַחת ותיתסי ברחמי שמה מן יומה דין | 2 | Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat. And may she be healed by the mercy of heaven from this day |
| וילעלם בעגלה וביזמן קריב אמן אמן סלה לשמך אני עושה קד[ש]ה | 3 | and for ever, swiftly and soon. Amen, Amen, Selah. By your name I act, great |
| רבה אסותא מן שמ[י]ה תיהוי לה למ[י]הרנהיד בת אחת דמיתקריא כוטוס ותיתסי | 4 | hol[y] one. May there be healing from heav[e]n for M[i]hranahid daughter of Aḥat, who is called Kuṭus. And may she be healed |
| מן שמה מן יומה ד[י]ן וי[ל]ע[לם] בשום יה מלך מלכיה רפאל מיטל מילס מילם דימפקדין אינון על מאחת | 5 | from heaven from th[is] day [and] for [e]ver. By the name of Yah, King of kings, Raphael, Miṭal, Milas, Milam, who are appointed over the smiting of |
| רוחתא בישתא רוחא [דשכבה בין קברי] ורוחא דשכבה בין איגרי ורוחא דשכבה בפגרה בראשה בצידעה | 6 | evil spirits: the spirit [that reclines among the graves], and the spirit that reclines among the roof-tops, and the spirit that reclines in the body, in the head, in the temple, |
| באודנה ובבית גילגליהי דעינה ד[מיהרנהיד בת אחת ד]מיתקריא כוטוס ורוחא דשמה אגג בת ברוק בת ברוקתא בת נקור בת נמון בַת צילחתא | 7 | in the ear, and in the eye-sockets of [Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, who] is called Kuṭus, and the spirit whose name is Agag daughter of Baroq, daughter of Baroqta, daughter of Naqor, daughter of Namon, daughter of migraine, |
| בת ריפסי בת רמאי בת עין [רעה מסמיתא מ]טרייתא עוירתא קרן ליכי מחגרתא קרן ליכי משפופתי קרן ליכי מומינה ומשבַענָה עֲלִיכִי | 8 | daughter of weakness (?), daughter of aches, daughter of [the evil] eye. They call you [blinder, s]miter, sightless; they call you lame, they call you crawler. I adjure and beswear you, |

8. *bt rypsy bt rm'y*: “daughter of weakness, daughter of aches”. The meaning of *rypsy* is uncertain (cf. JBA 3:4 and JBA 9:14). Other possible meanings are “trampling” (cf. Syr. RPS “to stamp”) and “shaking” (cf. the parallels *gwh* “rumbling” and *nqyšy* “clapping” in JBA 9:14). For *rm'y* “aches”, cf. Mand. *rumaiia*; see Ford 2011, 255–259.

mšpwpty: “crawler”; the parallel texts read *špwpty*.

- 9 אתי רוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה ברבי חנינא [בן דו] סאה ואמר
 לה רבי [חנינא] א' בן {דו} דוסאה לרוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה
 בההיא שעתה קראה דיכתיב תשית חושך ויהי
- 10 לילה בו תירמוס כל חיתו יאער ותוב מומ[ינה ות] ו' משבענה
 עלכי אנת[י רו]חא בישתא דלא תיזלין ולא תיהון לה
 למיהרנהיד בת אחת דמיתקריא כוטוס לא צותא דלילה
- 11 ולא צותא דיממה דאם אזלת ורדפת ב'פגרה [בר] אישה
 בצידעה באודנה ו'ב'ית [גילג] ל'יה' דעינה דמיהרנהיד בת אחת
 דמיתקריא כוטוס אתי רוחא בישתא ישמתון יתיכי ויתברון
 ייתי
- 12 ויחרמון יתיכי כמא ד'איתברן כרכין ת'ק[יפי] ד'אישתדרן עליהון
 נ'וראל ר'פאל ו'מ[יכאל בש] מ'יה [דיהוה יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה]
 שמו יהוה עיזו וגיבור יהוה גיבור ומלחמה יהוה מלך
 יהוה מאלך
- 13 יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד ראש אשתוק כוש מ[ור] מטמון פסקון
 פסקון מיטמון אט[רגל] --- ח'ית ח'ית דפקת ח'ית דפקת
 דפקת ח'ית על כל דמחט ועץ מחץ כיתרם אפרודידי אפרודידי
- 14 כ'יתרם מחץ ועץ דמחט כל על דין קמיעה [יהוי] שריר וקים
 אם ע'פר בג'יץ ד[---] ח'ית דפקת ח'ית דפקת ח'ית
- Outside:
- 15 למישרא דעיני For the unbinding of the eyes.

9–10. Ps 104:20.

12. *ytbrn*: See the note to JBA 3:12.

yštdrn: Cf. the preceding *ytbrn*; the parallels read *yštdrw*.

Ex 15:3.

Ps 24:8; note *wmlḥmh* for MT *mlḥmh*.

12–13. Ps 104:16; Ex 15:18; note *m'lk* for MT *mlk*.

13–14. Note that the sequence of *nomina barbara* 'l kl dmlḥt w'š mḥš kytrm 'prwdydy is then repeated in reverse order.



JBA 7 (MS 2053/12) with label



180×60 mm. Square semi-formal hand. The writing is mostly faded.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the following occurrences of a ptc. with the 2 p. fem. sg. encl.

pron. -yt: 'zlyt and rdpyt (both in l. 7; see Epstein 1960, 40–41, and Macuch 1965a, 277).

Client: Aḥat daughter of A[---]i (perhaps Aḥati).

Biblical quotation: Ps 104:20.

Image: There appears to have been a drawing in the centre, but it is almost completely erased.

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| [---] יתי וא[---] | 1 | [---] |
| [---] | 2 | [---] |
| [---] | 3 | [---] |
| [---] בת אישתא בת ערויתא בת צ'לח'תא בת ע[ינא] ב'ישתא א[שְׁבַעְיָת עֲלֵי אַנְתָּ] רוחא בישתא די | 4 | [---] daughter of fever, daughter of shivering, daughter of migraine, daughter of [the] e[vil] e[ye]. I [be]swear you, yo[u, evil spirit, who] |
| פגע'א ביה ברב' חנינ'א ב' ד'ס'א ואמרה {ל} ליה רבי חנינ'א ב' ד'ס'א [--- תשית חושך] | 5 | met Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, and she said to him: Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa [--- "You make darkness] |
| [ויהי לילה בו תירמוס כל] חיתו יער ו'תוב' מו[מינא] ותוב' מ'שב'ענא עלכי אנתי [---] ר'וח'א ב'ישת'א [---] | 6 | [and it is night, wherein all] the animals of the forest [creep]". And again [I] adj[ure] and again I beswear you, you [---] evil spirit [---] |
| [--- דימ]מה ואם אז'לית ו'רדפית לה לאחת בת א[---]י ברישה בעינה [בציד]עה [---] | 7 | [--- of] the [da]y. And if you go and persecute Aḥat daughter of A[---]i in her head, in her eye, [in] her [temp]le [---] |
| [--- דאיתבר]י כרכי[ת] קיפי[ן] ש'דרו [---] | 8 | [---] [m]ight[y] fortified citie[s were broke]n. They sent [---] |
| [---] אמן ס'לה | 9 | [---] Amen, Se[lah]. |

5. **llyh**: The scribe appears to have rewritten the *lamed* after adding ink to his stylus.
5–6. Ps 104:20.



JBA 8 (MS 2053/55)

189×60 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The rim is chipped. The writing is partly faded towards the rim.

The text is surrounded by a circle. There are scratches on the back of the bowl that seem to suggest the letter *ʾaleph*.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the loss of *ʾayin* in *šydh* for *šydʿh* (l. 5) and *tytyqryn* for *tytʿqryn* (l. 15).

Client: Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, nicknamed Kuṭus.

Biblical quotations: Ps 104:20; Ex 15:3; Ps 24:8; Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| לשמך אני עושה קדישא רבה אסותא | 1 | By your name I act, great holy one. May there be healing |
| מן שמה תיהוי לה למיהרנהיד בת אחת דמיתקריא | 2 | from heaven for Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, who is called |
| כוטוס בשום יה מלך מלכיא רפאל מיטל מילס דימפקדין אינון על | 3 | Kuṭus. By the name of Yah, King of kings, Raphael, Miṭal, Milas, who are appointed over |
| מחת [ר] וחתא בישתא רוחא דשכבא בן קברי ורוחא דשכבא בן איגרי ורוחא | 4 | the smiting of evil [sp]irits: the spirit that reclines among the graves, and the spirit that reclines among the roof-tops, and the spirit |
| דשכבא [ב] פגרה ברישה בצידה באודנה ובנחירה ובכול הדמי קומתה דמיהרנהיד בת אחת | 5 | that reclines [in] the body, in the head, in the temple, in the ear, and in the nostril, and in all the members of the body of Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, |
| דמיתקריא כוטוס ורוחא דישימה אגג בת ברוק בת ברוקתא בת נקור בת נמון בת צילחתא בת עין רעה | 6 | who is called Kuṭus, and the spirit whose name is Agag daughter of Baroq, daughter of Baroqta, daughter of Naqor, daughter of Namon, daughter of migraine, daughter of the evil eye. |
| מסמיתא מטרייתא עוריתא קרן ליכי מחגרתא קרן ליכי גרבניתא קרן ליכי מומינא עלכי ומשבענא עלכי אנתי רוחא | 7 | They call you blinder, smiter, sightless; they call you lame, they call you itchy. I adjure you and I beswear you, you, evil |
| בישתא דיפגע ביה ברבי חנינא בן דוסא ואמר לה רבי חנינא בן דוסא לרוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה בהייתא שעתא קראה דיכתיב תשית חושך | 8 | spirit, who met Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, and Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa said to her, to the evil spirit who met him at that time, the verse that is written: "You make darkness |
| ויהי לילה בו תירמוס כל חיתו יאער ותוב מומינא ותוב משבענא עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא דלא תיזלין ולא תיהוין לה למיהרנהיד בת אחת דמיתקריא | 9 | and it is night, wherein all the animals of the forest creep". And again I adjure and again I beswear you, you, evil spirit, that you should not go and not become to Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, who is called |

- 10 כוטוס לא צותא דליליה ולא צותא דיממה דאם אזלת ורדת
בפגרה בראשה באודנָה בעינה בינחירה באטמה בימעה
באיברה ויבהדמה דמיהרנהיד בת
- 11 אחת דמיתקריא כוטוס אנתי רוחא בישתא ישמתון יתיכי
ויתברון יתיכי ויחרמון יתיכי כמה דאיתברו כרכין תקיפין שדרו
עליהון נוראל רפאל ומיכאל בישמיה דיה יהוה
- 12 א יה יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו יהוה עיוזו וגבור יהוה גיבור
ומלחמה יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד מומינה
עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא דמיתקריא בת בלעין ורגזאל שדר
- 13 ליכי למיתב על רישאה למיפע מוחא למיצלי בצידעין למיזם
באודנין למיתב על עינין לשגשא פרצופין וילחבלא גופא כוליה
ואנתי רוחא בישתא יהון רזכי טמירין דחזי ליכי בגוהא מרמי
ליכי בינקשיא מרמי
- 14 ליכי בריפסי מרמי ליכי ובסיהרא ובציבעוני משני יתיכי מומינא
ליכי ומשבענה עלכי אַנְתִּי רֹחָא בישתא ופגעין ולטבין ושידין
ודיוין וטעין ויפתכרין ונאלין והרהורין בשמיה דיהוק יהוק רבה
- 15 דידחק מרכבתיה על ימה דסוף דתיוחין ותינוחין ותיחלפין
ותעדן ותיפקין ותיבטלין ותיקירין מינה מן מיהרנהיד בת
אחת דמיתקריא כוטוס מן מתן וחמשין ותריין הדמין דאית בה
מ[ו] שיתין ושיִתָּא הַדְמִי
- Kuṭus, neither a companion of the night nor a companion of the day. For if you go and persecute the body, head, ear, eye, nostril, thigh, bowels, limb(s), and member(s) of Mihranahid daughter of
- Aḥat, who is called Kuṭus, you, evil spirit, they will ban you and break you and excommunicate you just as mighty fortified cities were broken. They sent against them Nurael, Raphael and Michael. By the name of Yah, YHWH,
- A, Yah. "YHWH is a man of war, YHWH is his name". "YHWH strong and mighty, YHWH mighty in battle". "YHWH is king, YHWH reigns, YHWH shall reign for ever and ever". I adjure you, you, evil spirit, who is called daughter of Bal'in, and Ragziel sent
- you to sit upon the head, to crush the skull, to ring in the temples, to buzz in the ears, to sit upon the eyes, to confuse the countenance, and to harm the whole body. And you, evil spirit, may your mysteries be hidden. The one who sees you, with rumbling he hurls you, with clapping he hurls
- you, with shaking he hurls you, and by the moon and by its colours he drives you mad. I adjure you and I beswear you, you, evil spirit, and affliction demons and no-good ones and demons and *dēvs* and error spirits and idol spirits and complaint spirits and (evil) thoughts, by the name of the great Yahoq Yahoq,
- who pushed his chariot over the Red Sea, that you may move and be removed and be displaced and go away and depart and be abolished and be annulled from Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, who is called Kuṭus, from the two hundred and fifty-two members that there are in her, fr[om] the sixty-six members of

11. **wytbrwn**: The *taw* appears to be a correction from *qoph*.

12. Ex 15:3.

Ps 24:8; note **wmlḥmh** for MT **mlḥmh**.

Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18; note **m'lk** for MT **mlk**.

13. **lmysly**: "to ring" (MM); see the introduction to I.1 and Matthew Morgenstern's contribution to the Introduction to this volume.

14. **rypsy**: "shaking"; see the note to JBA 7:8.

wbsyhr' wbsyb'wny mšny ytyky: "and by the moon and by its colours he drives you mad" (MM); there is an imperfection in the surface of the bowl following **wbsyb'wny**. It is apparently original, because there are no traces of an additional letter (namely a *he* of the 3 p. masc. sg. pron. suffix) in the gap between this and the following word.

15. **wtythlpyn**: "and be displaced"; alternatively, "and move on" (cf. Syr. **ḥlp etpa**. "to move or change oneself").

- 16 קומתה ותיחסי מן שמה מן יומה דן ולעלם בעגלה ובזמן קריב
 בשום יה רבה יהוה צבאת מקודש ומפואר על כיסי רם ונישא
 אתה שוכין בחדרי היכל גאווה אתה גליתא סן[ד]ך [לבשר]
 ודם לא [מידב]ר אימרו לפני בתחנוני לילות ואני מתפח
 [ל]כם ועושה
- 17 לְכֶם כָּל שְׂאִילֵי [תכ]ם ארוכות אֲרוֹכוֹת [מכאס]ים מכואסים
 כנגד כיסי הכבוד בבקשה מִיָּכֶם משרתי יהוה צבאת [ב]מוטות
 מִיָּכֶם מיסררי תחנוני [ו]לא שאלות מומד אני שואיל מִיָּכֶם
 ולא [חיפצי כסף אני] מבקיש מיכם אילה שאילית [תכון] [דכו]
 לרוח רעה רן[ח]
- 18 דְּקִימָא לְקֹבֵב [לה ד] מִיְּהִרְנָהִיד דָּא וִימְשִׁמְשֵׁן [ה לה בכול שורין]
 קֹמְתָה אֲשִׁבְעִית לְעִלְכִי בשמה דגב[ריאל] מלאכה ורפאל
 מלאכ[ה דתי]זחין מן מיהרנהיד בת אחת מן מתן חמשין ותרין
 ה[ד] מִיִּן דָּאִית בָּהּ [ותיחסי] מִן שְׁ[מיה] אמן אמן סלה
- her body. And may she be healed from heaven from
 this day and for ever, swiftly and soon. By the name
 of the great Yah, YHWH Sabaoth, sanctified and
 glorified upon the exalted and lofty throne. You
 dwell in the chambers of the palace of majesty. You
 disclosed your myste[ry to flesh] and blood (who)
 does not [spea]k. Impart to me (your requests) in
 nocturnal supplications, and I shall cause you to
 swell and shall produce
- for you everything that you request (by means of
 various) windows, (as well as by means of things
 that) hide (and by means of things that are) hidden
 in front of the Throne of Glory. I ask you, ministers of
 YHWH Sabaoth, [I be]sech you from the afflictions
 of my entreaty. [And] requests of wealth I do not ask
 from you, and [objects of silver I] do not request
 from you. But I ask you: [Purify (away)] the evil
 spirit, the spir[it]
- that oppose[s] this Mihranahid and uses [her in all
 the sinews (of)] her body. I beswear you by the
 name of Gab[riel] the angel and Raphael [the] angel,
 [that you may] move from Mihranahid daughter
 of Ahat, from the two hundred and fifty-two
 me[m]bers that there are in her. [And may she be
 healed] from he[aven]. Amen, Amen, Selah.

16–17. An alternative tentative translation has been suggested by J.N. Ford, based on an emendation of **mtpyḥ** to **mtpys** (in all the versions) and reading **mb'sys mbw'sws** instead of **mk'sym mkw'sym**: “Say supplications of the night before me and I will be reconciled (!) [to] you and will perform for you all your requests (opening) windows upon windows (of heaven), [from a ba]se firmly established before the Throne of Glory.”

18. **wymšmšh**: “and uses”; this could mean something sexual.



JBA 9 (MS 2053/183)

175 × 70 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. Much of the writing is faded. Some words are in a cartouche.

Client: Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, nicknamed Kuṭus.

Biblical quotations: Ps 104:20; Ex 15:3; Ps 24:8; Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18.

- | | | |
|---|----|--|
| [אסות] אֲ מן שְׁמיה תִּהְיוּ לָהּ לְמִי־הַרְנֵהִיד | 1 | May [there be heali]ng from heaven [for Mihranahid] |
| [ב] תִּ אַחַת דְּמִיתְקָרִיא כְּ [וטוס ---] | 2 | [daug]hter of Aḥat, who is called K[uṭus ---] |
| [---] אֲסוֹת] אֲ שְׁלֵמָתָא לְ [שִׁמ] יְ אֲנִי [ע] וְשֶׁהָ [קְדִישָׁא רַבָּא] אֲסוֹתָא] מִן | 3 | [---] complete heali[n]g. By your [name] I [a]ct, [great holy one]. May there [b]e heal[ing] |
| שְׁמָ [יה] תִּי [ה] וִי לָהּ לְמִי־הַרְנֵהִיד בֵּת אַחַת דְּמִי־תִקְרִיא] כְּ [רִיא] כְּוֹטוֹס וְתִיתְסִי בְּשׁוֹם יְהִ מֶלֶךְ | 4 | from hea[ven] for Mi[h]ranahid daughter of Aḥat, who i[s] ca[lled] Kuṭus, and may she be healed. By the name of Yah, King of |
| מְלָכִי מְלָכִיהָ רַפָּאֵל מִיטָל מִיִּלָּס דְּמִפְקָדִין [א] יִנּוֹן עַל מְ [חת] רוּחַ תֵּא בִישְׁתָּא רְ [ו] חָא דְשַׁכְבָּה בֵּן קַבְרֵי וְרוּחָא | 5 | kings of kings, Raphael, Miṭal, Milas, who [a]re appointed over the smi[ting of] evil [spir]its: the sp[ir]it that reclines among the graves, and the spirit |
| דְּשַׁכְבָּה בֵּן אֲ [י] גְרִי וְרוּחָא דְשַׁכְבָּה בְּפִגְרָה בְּרָאשָׁה בְּלִיבָה בְּמַעַן [ה] וּבְבֵית גִּלְגָּלִי [הִי] דְּעִינָה דְּמִי־הַרְנֵהִיד בֵּת אַחַת | 6 | that reclines among the r[o]of-tops, and the spirit that reclines in the body, in the head, in the heart, in [the] bowels, and in the eye-socke[ts] of Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, |
| דְּמִיתְקָרִיא כְּוֹטוֹס וְ [ר] חָא דִּישְׁמָה [אגג ב] תִּ בְּרוּק בֵּת בְּרוּקָתָא בֵּת נָקוֹר בֵּת [נ] מִן בֵּת צִילַח [תֵּא בֵּת] עֵין רָעָה מִסְמ [יתֵא מִטְר] יִתָּא | 7 | who is called Kuṭus, and the [sp]irit whose name is [Agag daug]hter of Baroq, daughter of Baroqta, daughter of Naqor, daughter of [Na]mon, daughter of migrai[ne, daughter of] the evil eye. [They call] you blin[der, |
| עוֹיִר [תֵּא קֶרֶן] לְכִי מְ [חַגְרָתָא] קֶרֶן לְכִי גְרַבְנִיתָא [קֶרֶן] לְכִי שְׁפּוּפְתִי קֶרֶן לְכִי מוּמִי [נָה ו] מְשַׁבְּ [ע] נָה עֲלֵכִי [אֲנִתִי רוּחָא בִישְׁתָּא דִּפְגָּ [ע] ---] | 8 | smi]ter, sightle[ss; they] call [you] l[ame], [they] call you [itchy], they call you crawler. [I] adjur[e and] beswe[ar] you, [you, ev]il [spirit], who me[t ---] |
| [---] דִּפְגָּע בִּיהָ [בַּהִי] אֲ שַׁעְתָּא קֶרָאָה [דַּכְתִּיב תִּשִּׁי]ת] חֹשֶׁךְ [וְיִה לִילָה בּו תִּירְמוֹס כ] ל ח [יתו יַעַר ---] | 9 | [---] who met him [at tha]t time, the verse [that is written: "You] mak[e] darkness [and it is night, wherein a]ll the an[imals of the forrest creep". ---] |
| [--- ולא] תִּיהוּ [יִן לָהּ לְ] מִי־הַרְנֵהִיד [בֵּת אַחַת דְּמִיתְקָרִיא כְּוֹטוֹס] עַם [---] | 10 | [--- and not] beco[me to] Mihranahid [daughter of Aḥat, who is called Kuṭu]s [---] |
| [--- ובבית גִּלְגָּלִי ד] עֵינָה דְּמִי־הַרְנֵהִיד [ב] תִּ [אח]ת דְּ [מ] יִתְקָרִיא כְּוֹטוֹס אֲנִתִי רוּחָא [בִישְׁתָּא ---] | 11 | [--- and in the] eye-[sockets] of Mihranahid [daug]hter of [Aḥa]t, who [is] called Kuṭus, you, [evil] spirit [---] |

3. 'swt' šlmt': "complete healing". The same expression occurs in CAMIB 19A:5–6: wtyhbwn lh 'swt' šlmt' lbršytyn br 'ymy "and may you give complete healing to Baršitin son of Immi".

9. Ps 104:20.

- [בִּישְׁמִיָּה דִּיהוָה יְהוָה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה] יְהוָה שְׁמוּ יְהוָה
 עִזּוֹ וְגִבּוֹר יְיָ גִּבּוֹר וּמִלְחָמָה יְיָ מֶלֶךְ [יְיָ מֶלֶךְ יְיָ יִמְלֹךְ] 12 [By the name of YHWH. “YHWH is a man of war],
 לְעֹלָם וָעֶד YHWH is his name”. “YHWH strong and mighty, YHWH
 mighty in battle”. “YHWH is king, [YHWH reigns,
 YHWH shall reign for ever and ever”.

¹². Ex 15:3.

Ps 24:8; note **wmlḥmh** for MT **mlḥmh**.

Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18.



JBA 10 (MS 2053/185)

I.1.1

RABBI ḤANINA BEN DOSA

Omitted by Haplography

INTRODUCTION

Bowls JBA 11 and JBA 12 were written by a single scribe, who differs from the scribes who wrote the other extant bowls with the Ḥanina ben Dosa spell. This may explain why they both diverge markedly from the spell as typified by JBA 4 and JBA 9. It appears that the scribe omitted the section concerning Ḥanina ben Dosa due to haplography with the phrase **‘lyky ’nty rwh’ byšt’** (cf. JBA 4:8, 10). These bowls are therefore appended to the present chapter even though Ḥanina ben Dosa is not explicitly mentioned in them. As this has happened in both JBA 11 and JBA 12, it appears that this error occurred at an earlier stage in the transmission of this spell, and was already present in this particular scribe’s source. The same goes for **byšmh** (JBA 11:9 and JBA 12:9), which is probably an error for **wrwh’ dyšmh** (cf. JBA 4:7), and **‘yyn** (JBA 11:15 and JBA 12:14), which is an error for **‘yzwz** (cf. JBA 4:12).

Similarly, both JBA 11:14 and JBA 12:13–14 share the phrase **wkrykn’ ytky km’ dykrk krkyn tqypyn** “and I will encircle you just as one encircled mighty fortified cities”, which, although it differs from the otherwise attested spell (e.g. cf. JBA 4:11–12), contains a well-constructed play on words that manipulates the verb **KRK** “to encircle” and the noun **krk** “walled city”. The verb **KRK** may itself be a play on words, as the same verb often means “to make turn back” in Mandaic exorcisms, e.g. SD 63:12–13 in Morgenstern 2011b.

There are also two distinctive features in the anatomical sections of these bowls. The first is the term **ḥšy’** (11:13 and 12:7, 12). The same term appears in the Geonic magical text *Havdala de-Rabbi Aqiva* in a similar context (Scholem 1980/1, 167, ll. 22–26):

Release (from the effects of witchcraft) NN son of NN and any name that he may have, and the hour, and the day, and the star, and the constellation, and the two hundred and forty-eight members of the body, and the three hundred and sixty-five sinews of NN son of NN, from this day and forever, and his heart, and his pericardium, and his mouth, and his stomach,¹ and his *ḥašyā*, and his liver, and his kidneys and all his viscera² and all his ways, in all twelve months of the year and in the thirty days of the month!

Scholem was not able to propose an interpretation for the word. It could theoretically relate to Ar. *ḥašā* (pl. *‘aḥšā*) or *ḥuṣwa/ḥiṣwa* “bowels, intestines”, giving a meaning that would not be inappropriate in the contexts in which it is attested. The former Arabic term, in fact, appears as **‘ḥš’k** in a manuscript of the Samaritan Targum to Num 5:22, where it translates Heb. **m’yk** (DSA, 298). Nevertheless, as opposed to SA, the language of the JBA incantation bowls shows little Arabic influence. On the other hand, the lexical relationship with Akkadian is well established (in the present corpus compare, *inter alia*, the Sumero-Akkadian loanwords **‘ygr’** “roof”, **‘ygrt’** “letter”, **‘ykr’** “farmer”, **bb’** “door”, **byn’** “tamarisk”, **myšr’** “border”, **šb’** [for **šybb’**] “neighbour”). The term is thus most likely a loanword from Akk. *ḥašû* “lungs”.³ The consonantal *yodh* in the Aramaic term accords with the final contracted long vowel in the Akkadian term (Kaufman 1974, 149). In all three texts **ḥšy’** occurs between a word for “stomach” (**qwrqbn’** or **krs’**) and **kbd’** “liver” (followed by **kwlyt’** “kidneys”).⁴ Akk. *ḥašû* “lungs” likewise occurs between *takaltu* “stomach” and *amūtu* “liver”: *gabīdu* “liver” in the lexical text Hg. B IV, 66–67:

¹ **qwrqbnh:** “his stomach”; for additional attestations of this term with reference to humans, see Müller-Kessler 1999, 348–349 (n. 46).

² **m’ny gywyh:** “his viscera”; cf. Naveh 1997, 34, ll. 5–6 (Syriac): **mn lbh w’sṭwmkh wm’yh wm’n’ gwh mn ḏpnh wmn ḥdyh** “from her heart and her stomach and her bowels and her viscera, from her ribs and from her chest” (Naveh, p. 36: “entrails”).

³ The interpretation of Akkadian *ḥašû* as “belly, entrails” proposed by CAD H:143–144, meaning 2 (alongside “human lungs” and “animal lungs”) is not accepted in later volumes (cf., e.g., CAD L:35; CAD K:436; CAD P:208), nor in *AHW*.

⁴ In JBA 11 the text is reconstructed.

uzu.kin.gi₄.a : *ta-kal-tum* : *ḥa-šu-[ú]* uzu.kin.gi₄.a : stomach : lungs
 uzu.kin.gi₄.a : *a-mu-tum* : *ga-bi-[du]* uzu.kin.gi₄.a : liver : liver⁵

A similar collocation of **wfy** “lungs” with **mist** “liver” and **ka-ra-ta** “kidneys” is found in a Late Egyptian amulet (Edwards 1960, P2v, 9–15):

iw.i (r) šd.s (r) šnn d3d3 iw.i (r) šd.s (r) gs-m3' iw.i (r) šd(.s) (r) šnn ns iw.i (r) šd.s (r) šnn irt {iw.i} iw.i (r) snb p3y.s ḥ3ty n3y.s wfy t3y.s mist n3y.s ka-ra-ta p3y.s hn r dr:f

I (Mut and Chons) shall save her from illness of the head, I shall save her from headache, I shall save (her) from illness of the tongue, I shall save her from illness of the eye, I shall keep healthy her heart, her lungs, her liver, her kidneys, her body in its entirety.⁶

The second distinctive feature in the anatomical sections of these bowls is that they end their anatomical lists with the phrase **bḥwd gysh**, which we have translated as “in the point of her loins” (JBA 11:8, 13 and JBA 12:8, 12). The reading seems to be established, but the translation is conjectural. The translation of the second word is based on the occurrence of an anatomical term in TA (see Jastrow 1950, 241, s.v. **gyss'** I), where TO Lev 3:4 gives **gyssy'**, translating Heb. **kslym** (probably cognate with Akk. *kislu*, Ug. *ksl*—cf. *AHW*, 486–487), and TJ Is 60:4, 66:12 give **gssyn**, translating Heb. **šd**. Jastrow 1950, 241, also has a second entry for **gyss'**, based on TJ 2Sam 18:14 and translating Heb. **šbty'm** “rods”, the connection of which to **gyss'** I is unclear. Although the precise definition of the term **bḥwd gys'** is unknown, it appears to indicate some detail of anatomy.

Two distinctive malevolent entities are mentioned at the end of the text. The first is **stn' hdy'n ḥṭl btr'y mwḥ' wm'wyt nhwr' dbny 'ynšh** “this satan ... at the gates of the skull and distorts the eyesight of human beings” (JBA 11:17–18 and JBA 12:17–18). The reading **ḥṭl** seems certain in both texts, but the interpretation is unclear. The word is possibly to be connected with Ar. *ḥṭala* “to be foul and obscene in speech; to be corrupt in speech, and loquacious” (Lane, 767). The second is **ryḥw'h rbh dyšmy'** “the great wind of heaven” (JBA 11:18 and JBA 12:18), the interpretation of which is based on the use of late Mand. **rihua** as an evil force in magical contexts (*MD*, 433).

The client in JBA 12, Miškoy daughter of Anušfri, also appears in JBA 55 (I.2.4) and MS 1928/33, which are written by the same hand. She may belong to the same family found in MS 2053/259 and MS 2054/111 (in Mandaic). It is doubtful whether MS 1928/32, also in Mandaic, belongs to the same person.

⁵ See also the consistent appearance of *ḥašû* “lungs” immediately preceding or following words for “liver” in the lexical texts discussed in Cohen 2002.

⁶ As noted by Morgenstern in his contribution to this volume, Müller-Kessler 1999, 349 (n. 48) has tentatively identified the phonetically similar Mand. **hašaša** with Akk. *ḥašû* (DC 47:142–143 [cf. *Or n.s.* 15, 329:15–16]): **'yn ruha h' d-iatba 'l kabda u'l hašaša u'l ṭahala u'l kuliata uabda šaula urumaiia bišia bharšia** “If it is the spirit that sits on the liver and on the lungs and on the spleen and on the kidneys and causes cough and bad aches in the lungs” (Drower 1946, 329:15–16). *MD*, 128 (following Drower 1946, 339) interprets **hašaša** as “bowels” (comparing Ar. *ḥšā'* “bowels”), but the following section of the text deals with a demon that affects the **mia** “bowels”, which suggests that **hašaša** refers to a different part of the body. The reference to **šaula** “cough” supports Müller-Kessler’s interpretation of **hašaša** as “lungs”. Cf. *AMT* 81,3:7 (quoted in CAD H:143): *su'ālam ... ina birit ḥašē ittadi kussāšu* “the cough ... has set up its seat between the lungs”. One may add that the sequence of organs enumerated in the Mandaic text, as understood here, most likely corresponds to that in another Late Egyptian amulet (Edwards 1960, L6r, 33–36): *[iw.i (r) snb] t3yf 'mi[st] iw.i (r) snb [n3y]:f wfy iw.i (r) snb p3y:f nši iw.i (r) snb n3y:f ka-ra-ta* “[I shall keep healthy] his li[ver], I shall keep healthy [his] lungs, I shall keep healthy his spleen, I shall keep healthy his kidneys”. The reading *'mi[st]* “liver” is almost entirely reconstructed, but most probable in this context (see Edwards 1960, I:37, n. 19). Cf. also the sequence *ḥa[šû]* “lungs” // *ka[bitu]* “liver” // *tulīmu* “spleen” in Copy 1 of the S^a vocabulary list from Emar (Cohen 2002, 825). Drower 1946, 339 translates **uabda ... bharšia** as “and by her sorceries causes”, but such an expression is incongruent in the present context. Müller-Kessler emends the text to **u(m)abda šaula urumaiia bišia** (...) “und verursacht Husten mit Auswurf und schwere Lämungen (...)”. We tentatively take **haršia** as a dissimilated form of **hašia** (*MD*, 127), itself a by-form of **hašaša**. Compare the structure of DC 47:85–87 (cf. *Or n.s.* 15, 328:2–3), where **bainia** “in the eyes” corresponds to **bharšia** in our context: **'yn ruha h' d-yatba 'l ainia ... uabda kiba uia'qdana bainia ...** “If it is the spirit that sits on the eyes ... and causes pain and greenness in the eyes ...” (cf. the discussion of this context in Müller-Kessler 1999, 346–347).

180 × 55 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a portion. The writing is partly faded. The text is surrounded by a circle. There are three squiggly lines in the centre of the bowl.

Linguistic and orthographic features: There are two cases of dittography, both involving the same root—*tyzlyn tyzlyn* (l. 11) and *'zlyt 'zlyt* (l. 12); this appears to be intentional and may be for emphasis. Client: Farrokh daughter of Aden-xwarrih, nicknamed Anuš.

Biblical quotations: Ps 24:8; Ex 15:3; Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18.

- | | | |
|--|----|--|
| אֲסוֹת [א] מִן שָׁמַיָּא {x} תִּיהוּ | 1 | May there be healin[g] from heaven |
| לֵה ל[פ]רוֹךְ [---] | 2 | for [Fa]rrokh [---] |
| [---] ו[ת]י תְּסִי בִּרְחֻמִּי | 3 | [---] And [may she] be healed by the mercy of |
| שְׁמַיָּא [ל]י שְׁמַךְ א[ני עוֹשֵׁה] יְה מֶלֶךְ [י] ה מֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ | 4 | heaven. [B]y your name I [ac]t, Yah is king, [Ya]h is king, Holy |
| קְדוֹשׁ [---] רַפָּאֵל [מִיטָל] מִלָּס מִלָּס דִּימְפָקְדִין א[ני] נִןִן | 5 | King [---] Raphael, [Miṭal], Milas, Milas, who a[r]e appointed |
| עָלָּ [מַחַת רוּחַתָּא בִּישְׁתָּא רוּחַא דְּשׁ] כָּבָא בִּין קַבְרֵי רוּחַא דְּשָׁכְבָא בִּין אִיגְרָ[י] | 6 | over [the smiting of evil spirits: the spirit that re]clines among the graves, the spirit that reclines among the roof-top[s], |
| [---] רוּחַא דְּשָׁכְבָא בְּרִישָׁה בְּצִי דְּעָה בִּיגְבִינָה | 7 | [---] the spirit that reclines in her head, in her t[e]mple, in her eyelid, |
| ב[עֵינָ] הָ בְּאֹדֶנָּה [ה] בְּ[לִי]בָה בְּכֶרְסָה בְּ[חֲשִׁי]ה בְּכַבְדָּה וּבְכֹלִיתָה וּבְכָל שׁוּרֵינִי ק[וֹ]מָתָה בְּחוּד גִּיסָה | 8 | in her [eye], in [her] ear, in her [he]art, in her stomach, in [her lungs], in her liver, and in her kidney, and in all the sinews of her b[o]dy, in the point of her loins, |
| מֵאָ[תֵן] אַרְבַּע[וֹת וַיְתַמְנִיא] {הָדִמַּ} הָדִמַּ [י] קְ[וֹמָת] הָ דְּפֶרֶד דְּהִיא אָנוּשׁ בַּת אֲדִינְכוּרִיָּה [ב]יִשְׁמָה אָגְגַּ בַּת | 9 | the [two] hund[red] and fort[y-eight] member[s of] the b[ody] of Farrokh, who is Anuš, daughter of Aden-xwarrih, [and the spirit wh]ose name is (!) Agag daughter of |
| בְּרוֹ[ק] בַּת נָקוֹר [בַּת רוּחַא בִּישְׁתָּא] וּבַת עֵ[י]נָא בְּ[יִשְׁ]תָּא וּבַת צִילָחָ[ת] א[עוֹרְתָא קְרָאֵן] לָאֲכִי מִסְמַתָּא קְרָאֵן לְכִי | 10 | Baro[q], daughter of Naqor, [daughter of the evil spirit], and daughter of the e[v]il e[y]e, and daughter of migrai[n]e. They call you sightless, they call you blinder, |

9. **byšmh**: The restoration is according to JBA 12:9, which is by the same scribe, and best fits the lacuna. This is probably an error for **wrwḥ' dyšmh** (cf. JBA 4:7).

10. **brwq**: Perhaps read **brq**; the final letter is unclear.

The use of *'aleph* in **qr'n** (twice) and **Pky** is not certain, but appears more likely than *yodh*. The form **qr'n** would be a *plene* spelling of **qrn** /qāran/ (cf. JBA 12:10; see also Juusola 1999, 206–209).

- 11 גר[בניתא קראן לאכי מומינא] וּמִשְׁבַּענא עלכי א[נ]תי רוחא
בישתא דלא תיזלין תיזלין ולא תיהוּן לה לפרוֹךְ בַּת
[they call you] itc[hy. I adjure] and beswear you,
y[o]u, evil spirit, that you should not go and not
become to Farrokh daughter of
- 12 א[די]נכור[י]הּ א[ל]א צוֹתָהּ בליליה ולא {X} צוֹתָהּ ביממא אִם
אזל[ית אז]לית ורתפתלה {לה} לפרוך בת אדינכוריה
בר[יש]ה בצי[דעה]
A[de]n-xwarr[i]h [nei]ther a companion by night
nor a companion by day. If you go and persecute
Farrokh daughter of Aden-xwarrih in her he[ad], in
[her] tem[ple],
- 13 [בי]גבינהּ בעינהּ {באודנ} באדנהּ {ד} בליבהּ בכרסהּ בחשניהּ
בכבדהּ וי[ככוליתה ויכלל} שוריני קומתהּ בחו[ד] גיסהּ
מֵאֵת[ן א]רבעין
[in] her eyelid, in her eye, in her ear, in her heart, in
her stomach, in [her] lun[gs, in her liver, and] in her
kidney, and in all the sinews of her body, in the
poin[t of] her loins, the [two] hundred and [f]orty-
- 14 וי[ת]מני הדמי קומתהּ דפרוך בת אדינכוריה מִשְׁמַתְנא יתכי
ומח[תמינא יתכי וכריכנא יתכי כמא דיכרך כרכין תקיפין]
ומש[דרנא]
[ei]ght members of the body of Farrokh daughter of
Aden-xwarrih, [I will ban you and] I will [se]al you
and I will encircle you just as one encircled might[y]
fortified cities. [And] I will [se]nd
- 15 עלכי נוריאל ופגע[י]אל ומיכאל בנורא בישמיהּ {דיהו}ה עיין
וגיבור יהוה ג[יבור מלחמה יהוה איש מלחמה] {י}הוה שמו
אדוני מלך אדון[י]מל[ד]י הוה י[מ]לוד
against you Nuriel and Pag[el] and Michael with
fire. By the name [of “YHW]H strong (!) [and mighty,
YHWH m]ighty in battle”. “YHWH is a man of war,
[Y]HWH is his name”. “The Lord is king, the Lor[d
reig]ns, [Y]HWH shall [re]ign
- 16 לעולם ועד אמן אמן סלה נסחף סניף בגדי עבד פדא פדא
ק[נקס ---] טס פסן סנסן ותן ופן ותן ספסנו וחור[מ]אֵל
[---] כימין
for ever and ever”. Amen, Amen, Selah. *nomina
barbara* [---] like
- 17 קודשא על גלגלי אשתא נורא ותוקפי ברדא ותלגא דנפקין מן
[ריגליהון ---] ושלחו באסותהּ דפרוך דהיא אנוש בת
אדינכוריה סטנא הדין אחטל
the Holy One, upon wheels of fire, fire and angry
outbursts of ice and snow that proceed from [their
feet ---] and send with the healing of Farrokh, who is
Anuś, daughter of Aden-xwarrih, this satan ...
- 18 בתרעי מוחא ומעוית נהורא דבני אינשהּ אזחו [ו]אִפְּקוּ מִינָהּ
דפרוך בת אדינכוריה ריה ריחואה רבה דישמיא אסו ית פרוך
בת אדינכוריה אמן אמן סלה
at the gates of the skull and distorts the eyesight of
human beings, cause to depart [and] cause to go
forth from Fa[rrokh daughter of Aden-xwa]rrih the
great wind of heaven. Heal Farrokh daughter of
Aden-xwarrih. Amen, Amen, Selah.

12. wrpt: “and persecute”. The reading is not certain, and assumes a devoicing of *dalet* (< wrdpt). The word may also be read wdhpt “and push”. The former reading is preferred on account of the parallels in JBA 1–10, which read wrdpt (e.g. JBA 9:10).

15. ‘yyn: Error for ‘yzwz (cf. JBA 4:12).

Ps 24:8.

Ex 15:3.

15–16. Ps 10:16; Ex 15:18.

17. nwr’: The space before the word is damaged and there may be traces of another letter before the *nun*; JBA 12:17, however, reads just nwr’.



JBA 11 (MS 2053/79)

185 × 65 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a portion. The writing is partly faded. The text is surrounded by a circle. There are three squiggly lines in the centre of the bowl.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of a voiced rather than emphatic velar plosive in **gwmth** for **qwmth** (l. 8).

Client: Miškoy daughter of Anušfri.

Biblical quotations: Ps 24:8; Ex 15:3; Ps 101:6; Ex 15:18.

| | | |
|--|----|---|
| אסותא מן שְמיה תהוי | 1 | May there be healing from heaven |
| לָהּ [---] לְמִי[י]שְׁכָּ[כ]י בת אנושפרי | 2 | for [---] M[i]š[k]oy daughter of Anušfri. |
| ותיחסי בְרָחָ[מי] שְׁמִיָּא [---] | 3 | And may she be healed by the mer[cy of] heaven [---] |
| לְשִׁמְךָ אֲנִי[י] עושה יָהּ מִלְךָ [---] רַפָּ[א]ל | 4 | By your name I act, Yah is k[in]g, [---] Rapha[e]l, |
| מִיטָל[ל] מִיטל מִלֵּס דִּימְפָק[דין] אֲנִי[נָן] עַל [מחת] רוֹחָתָא [בי]שְׁתָּא | 5 | Miṭa[l], Miṭal, Milas, who a[r]e appoin[ted] over [the smiting of ev]il spirits: |
| רוחא דְשִׁכְבָּא בִין אִיגְרִי רוֹחָא דְשִׁכְבָּא בִין [קבר]י [רוחא] דְשִׁכְבָּא[א] | 6 | the spirit that reclines among the roof-tops, the spirit that reclines among [the grave]s, [the spirit] that recline[s] |
| ברִישָׁהּ בְּצִידְעָה בִּיגְבִינָה בעִי[נ]ה באודנָה בְּלִיבָה ב[כר]סָה בחֲשִׁיָּהּ [בכבדה] | 7 | in her head, in her temple, in her eyelid, in her ey[e], in her ear, in her heart, in her [stoma]ch, in her lungs, [in her liver] |
| [וי]בכולִיתָה ויבכל שור[י]נִי גוֹמָתָה בְּחוּד גִּיסָה מתן ארבעין [וי]תִּמְנִיא הדמִי קוֹמָתָה דְמִישְׁ[כו]י | 8 | [and] in her kidney, and in all the sine[w]s of her body, in the point of her loins, the two hundred and forty-eight members of the body of Miš[koy] |
| בת אנושפרי[י] בִּישְׁמָהּ אַגַּג בת ברוק בת נ[ק]ור בת ר[ו]חָ[א] בִּישְׁתָּא וּבִת עֵינָא בִּישְׁתָּא ובת צִילְחָתָא | 9 | daughter of Anušfr[i], and the spirit whose name is (!) Agag daughter of Baroq, daughter of Na[q]or, daughter of the evil sp[i]ri[t], and daughter of the evil eye, and daughter of migraine. |
| עוֹרְתָא קֶרֶן לְכִי מְסַמְתָּא קֶרֶן לְכִי גִרְבְּנִיתָא קֶרֶן לְכִי מוֹמִינָא וּמְשַׁבְּעָנָא [על] כִּי אֲנִתִּי רוֹחָא בִּישְׁתָּא | 10 | They call you sightless, they call you blinder, they call you itchy. I adjure and beswear you, you, evil spirit, |
| דְּלֹא תִיזְלִין וְלֹא תִהְיוּן לָהּ לְמִישְׁכוּי בת אנושפרי לא צוֹתָה בְּלִילִיָּהּ [ול] אֲצִ[וֹת]הָ [ביממא א]ם אֲזֹלֶת [ו]רִתְתָּת לָהּ לְמִישְׁכוּי | 11 | that you should not go and not become to Miškoy daughter of Anušfri, neither a companion by night [no]r a com[pani]on [by day. I]f you go [and] persecute Miškoy |

9. **byšmh**: This is probably an error for **wrwḥ** **dyšmh** (cf. JBA 4:7).

11. **wrtpt**: See the note to JBA 11:12.

- 12 בת אנ[ו]שפרי בְּרִישָׁהּ בְּצִידָהּ בִּגְבִינָהּ בְּעִינָהּ בְּאֹדְנָהּ
בְּכֶרְסָהּ בְּחֶשֶׁהּ [ב] כְּבֹדָהּ וְיִבְכּוּלִי [תה] וְיִבְכְּלִי שׁוּרֵינִי קֹמְתָהּ
[בח] וְדָגִסָּהּ
- 13 מִתֵּן אֲרִבְעִין וּתְמַנִּיאַת הַדָּמִי קֹמְתָהּ דְּמִשְׁכּוֹי בֵּת אֲנוּשְׁפְרִי
מִשְׁמַתָּנָה יִתְכִי וּמַחְתִּימָנָה יִתְכִי וְכִרְכְּנָה יִתְכִי כִּמְאֵ ד[י] כִּרְכֵּךְ
- 14 כִּרְכִּין תְּקִיפִין {וּמִשְׁדָּנָהּ} וּמִשְׁדָּנָהּ עֲלֵי[כִי] נֹרִיאל [ו] פְּגִיעֵיאל
וּמִיכָאל בְּנוֹרָא בִּין[ש] מִיָּה דִּיהוָה עֵי[י] [וג] יְבֹרָךְ יְהוָה גִּבּוֹר
מִלְחָמָה
- 15 יְהוָה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ אֲדוֹנִי מֶלֶךְ אֲדוֹנִי מֶלֶךְ יְהוָה יִמְלֹךְ
לְעוֹלָם [ו] עֲדָא מֶלֶךְ אֲמֵן סֵלָה בְּאֵ[---] פִּסְס [---] נִפְּסִיחַר
אַפְּנִסְחַךְ
- 16 סִנְיָ [ב] גְּדִי עֶבֶד פֶּדָא פֶּדָא קִנְקִס קִטְף פִּסְץ וּסְנַסְן וְתֵן וְפִץ
וּפִץ וְתֵן וּסְפִסְס [נו] וְ[ח] וּרְמִיאל ל [---] כִּימִין קֹדֶשָׁא עַל
- 17 גִּלְגִּלֵּי אִישׁ[ת] אֶנּוּרָא וְתֹקֶפִי בְּרִדָּא וְתִלְגָּא דְנִפְקִין מִן רִיגְלִיהוֹן
[נ] חִיתוֹ וּזְלוֹ וּשְׁלַחוּ בְּאַסְוֹתָהּ דְּמַחְלָפְתָּא [בת] XXX דִּמְ[י] שְׁכּוֹי בֵּת
[אנ] וְשִׁפְרִי [ס] טַנְא הַדִּין אַחְטַל בְּתַרְעִי
- 18 מוֹחָא וּמַעֲוִיתָ נְהוּרָא דְּבִנֵּי אִינְשָׁה אַחְזוּ וְאַפִּיקוּ מִיָּנָה דְּמִשְׁכּוֹי
בֵּת אֲנוּשְׁפְרִי רִיחּוּאָה רַבָּה דִּישְׁמִי[י] אֲסוּ יֵת מְ[י]שְׁכּוֹי בֵּת
אֲנוּשְׁפְרִי אֲמֵן אֲמֵן
- 19 סֵלָה Selah.

14. {wmšdn}: False start for wmšdrn' "and I send". It is possible that the scribe began to write mšdn', i.e. mšaddannā < mšaddannā; cf. the assimilation of reš in 'mn' "I say", i.e. āmannā < āmarnā (see Morgenstern 2007, 266–268).

'yy: Error for 'yzwz (cf. JBA 4:12).

Ps 24:8.

15. Ex 15:3.

Ps 101:6; Ex 15:8.

17. The scribe initially wrote the wrong name (Maḥlafta daughter of?). He then crossed it out and wrote the correct name above the line.



JBA 12 (MS 2053/178)

I.2

DIVORCE TEXTS

INTRODUCTION

The theme of divorce, one of the most common themes for banning demons in the bowls, is a prominent example of the use of what has been termed “performative” utterances in a magical context, that is to say, a phrase that creates, by the fact that it is uttered in a specific situation and in a determined manner, a new social or legal status. This theme occurs in bowls in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac and Mandaic. The large number of texts with this theme testifies to its popularity.

The structure and language of the divorce theme are taken from the domain of legal procedure. The demons have attached themselves to a person or a household and the divorce formula is a way of getting rid of them. The demonic attachment is compared metaphorically and half-seriously to the permanence of marital relations (perhaps with a hint in the direction of a possible sexual connection with the demons). Given these premises, the most effective way to end this relationship is to establish a legal separation. All it takes—or so it seems—is to say the appropriate formula, and the demon is no longer legally a member of the household. This should imply, by the human analogy, that the person who uses the formula is the male side of the partnership, while the demon represents the female side. This rule is not always observed, however, and in several cases the formula is used by a woman or a married couple.

The fact that demons are capable of being divorced implies that their presence in the household is recognised in some way as a legitimate, if undesirable, attachment. In order to be able to drive them away under the guise of proper legal proceedings, they are implicitly given a status that does not normally apply to them: the demon is seemingly accorded a respectable human status, that of a consort. The divorce formula would simultaneously achieve two conflicting aims: it would legitimise the demon by retroactively recognising its quasi-married status, and at the same time outlaw it by annulling that status. This is the essence of the divorce trick.

The divorce theme underlines the ambiguity of the demonic presence in human society. The demons are beyond human reach and ken, and yet they form a kind of invisible part of society. Invisible, that is, up to a certain extent, for we learn from numerous expressions in the bowl texts that they appear to people in various forms and shapes. These appearances are a source of constant complaint, and attempts are often made to stop them. The ambiguous similarity of demons to humans comes up, in particular, in references to such bodily functions as eating, drinking and sexual intercourse, as applied to the demons (on this point, see Shaked 1994b, 11–13; 2002b, 77–79).

In order for the divorce document to be effective in changing the legal status of the parties, the Jewish law of divorce requires that the rejected party, in all cases the woman, cooperate in the legal act by physically receiving the written document. This comes up in some of the divorce spells in the bowls (e.g. JBA 14:3, JBA 24:13). Another indication of the importance of everyday Jewish divorce customs to the spell writer is the apparent use of a lengthened *waw* in *t(y)rwkyn* and *šybwqyn* (JBA 14:7, JBA 22:10), which is in accordance with BT Giṭ 85b—see Bhayro (forthcoming).

As in normal human relationships, the legal separation does not always put an end to the affective attachments, positive or negative, and the rejected partner is assumed to be capable of using tricks and manipulations in order to try to restore the *status quo*. Analogically, the act of divorcing the demons, although it is a powerful means of driving them away, does not always put an end to the menace. For making the separation more permanent, the sorcerer resorts to a combination of methods, and the legal procedure is reinforced by other magical means.

Although the divorce is enacted with perfect decorum, there is a strong fictitious element in it. This starts with the underlying recognition that the demon cannot really be assumed to be married to the

master of the house. The demon is invisible—its presence is a matter of suspicion and speculation. The assumption that a demon is present is deduced from the existence of some trouble in the house, such as a disease or other calamity. Besides, it is in practice difficult, if not impossible, to serve a deed of divorce on a demon. A further complication is created by the fact that most legal authorities would probably deny the applicability of the divorce law with regard to demons. To solve some of these practical and legal problems, the incantations will often resort to making use of a divorce decree that “has come to us from across the sea” (e.g. JBA 15:5) or “has descended to us from heaven” (e.g. JBA 19:9), notions that, in these texts, are linked to the figure of Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia.

The deed of divorce for the demons is thus, even in the eyes of the society with which we are dealing, largely a fiction, and yet it is not a mere sham. We may assume that it was taken seriously and was considered by its practitioners to be highly effective.

Its broad appeal is further confirmed by some of the clients’ names, which appear to be Christian. For example, Bar-Sahde (JBA 27, JBA 31, JBA 42) and Bat-Sahde (JBA 24, JBA 46), meaning “son/daughter of the martyrs”, are typically Christian. Furthermore, Mat-Yišu (JBA 24, JBA 46) is a distinctly Christian name meaning “Maid servant of Jesus”. The same name **mtyšw** is probably to be read in the Elisur Bagdana bowl IM 9737:4, 7 (Gordon 1934a) for Gordon’s **mhyšy**. For the apheresis of the initial *ʾaleph*, cf. **ʾmtsyn** (ʾAmat-Sin) “Maid servant of Sin” and the phonetic variant **mtsyn** (Mat-Sin) “idem” in the Syriac bill of sale from Dura Europos, lines 9 and ii, respectively, as well as **mtrʿt** (Mat-Tarʿatha) “Maid servant of Atargatis” in lines i, 7 etc. (see Goldstein 1966, especially p. 3). For additional ʾAmat-DN and Mat-DN names, see Drijvers and Healey 1999, 69, 158, 171, 206–207.

The theme of divorce is closely connected in many of its occurrences with Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia, the pair Elisur Bagdana and the lilith Ḥablas, or the lilith Zanay, the fornicating singing-girl. It also occurs on its own. In this chapter, therefore, bowls representing the four variations will be given in four separate sections. Other divorce bowls to be published in subsequent volumes include MS 2053/239 and MS 2053/254. Note also M 5 and M 46, which are also divorce bowls, but without the three major motifs mentioned above.

A detailed discussion of the various spells found in this chapter and their significance is found in Shaked 1999a, which also includes an edition of JBA 30, and revised editions of CAMIB 13A, Montgomery 8 and Montgomery 9, M 2 and M 11. See also Levene 2003b and Geller 2005, 63–70. For M 50 and M 59, see Levene 2003a, 31–39. For a discussion and partial translation of JBA 14, see Shaked 2002a, 127. For a partial edition, translation and discussion of JBA 24, see Shaked 2006, 383–384. For a discussion of part of JBA 13, JBA 14 and JBA 16, see Shaked 2010, 223–224.

I.2.1

DIVORCE TEXTS

Joshua bar Peraḥia

INTRODUCTION

The texts in this section refer to Joshua bar Peraḥia's authority as the initiator of the device of serving a writ of divorce against demons—cf. JBA 26 (I.2.1.1), where Joshua bar Peraḥia sends a ban against a demon. It is interesting to note that we have the name Rabbi Joshua ben Peraḥia invoked as a powerful name like that of an angel or demon in JBA 15:2–3. The semi-mythical figure of Joshua bar Peraḥia is puzzling. The historical figure lived in Palestine in the second half of the second century BCE, and held the dignity of a *nāṣī*. Despite the chronological incongruity, he is said in some Talmudic passages (BT Sanh 107b; BT Soṭ 47a) and in Geniza fragments to have played a prominent role in the Jesus story. It is not entirely clear why this historically anachronistic association was made, but it is not unlikely that the magical aura of his person may have contributed to this connection. Thus Blau refers to the magical allusions contained in one of the stories in which Joshua bar Peraḥia flees to Egypt with his disciple Jesus (see Blau 1898, 34).

The legendary material has been collected and discussed in Krauss 1911a; 1911b; Ginzberg 1928, 329 ff.; Falk 1978; Boyarin 1978a. Discussions of the figure of Joshua bar Peraḥia are found in Montgomery 1913, 226 ff.; Herr 1968; Geller 1974, 5 ff., 70–117. There is also a discussion of this figure in an unpublished M.A. thesis presented to the Hebrew University in 2001 by Alon Ten-Ami.

The phrase **nq(w)b(y) m(y)twk hg(y)lw(y)** “a hollow out of an empty space” occurs several times (JBA 14:4, JBA 16:6, JBA 17:5, JBA 20:6–7, JBA 21:8 and JBA 22:6; cf. also JBA 13:4). The meaning of the expression is not entirely clear. It may also be interpreted as “a sheet prepared for writing (sometimes made with holes for rolling) out of a blank sheet (of parchment, usually called in Heb. *gilyōn*)”, or “that which is designated (or invoked) out of that which is manifest” (see Shaked 1999a, 177, note 23, for a more detailed discussion). For the latter meaning, cf. the Hebrew phrase **bnyqwb hšym** “by an invocation (or designation) of the Name” in Moriah Bowl I:14, which departs from the literal meaning of **nyqwb** “perforation” (see Shaked 2010, 223–225; cf. Epstein 1922, 47; Gordon 1984, 222–223).

JBA 22:6 clearly reads **dbhwn 'yrbz'w šmyh w'r'h** “through which heaven and earth are split” (cf. JBA 13:5, JBA 17:5 and JBA 20:7), whereas JBA 21:8 unmistakably reads **dbhwn 'ytkn'w šmyh w'r'h** “through which heaven and earth are subdued” (cf. JBA 14:5 and JBA 16:6). The two verbal forms do not sound similar, but they resemble each other in writing. The dual tradition, therefore, is most likely the result of a copying error and is evidence for the written transmission of the spell at an earlier stage.

Three of the bowls, JBA 17, JBA 19 and JBA 20, were written by the same scribe for different clients. The same scribe also wrote JBA 56, M 11 and Wolfe 69. These bowls share some distinctive features, with JBA 17, JBA 20 and M 11 being virtually identical. Likewise JBA 19 and Wolfe 69 are virtually identical. The text of JBA 16 shares a number of distinctive readings with M 59 (Levene 2003a, 34–39), which appears to have been written by the same scribe, and JNF 146.

Joshua bar Peraḥia is also mentioned in the Mandaic bowl 1928/20, which parallels JBA 15, JBA 18, JBA 19 and JBA 24; another parallel is JBA 62 (I.2.4), although this bowl does not mention Joshua bar Peraḥia. As is often the case, the 2 p. pl. pron. suffixes in the latter texts are ambiguous due to the lack of differentiation between *waw* and *yodh* in the JBA script. That they should usually be transcribed as fem. forms with *yodh* (with, e.g., Montgomery 1913, 154, and Müller-Kessler 2005, 42 and 56) is suggested by the consistent use of unambiguous fem. forms in the Mandaic parallel, in which *waw* and *yodh* are differentiated in the script (e.g. **gmbaikin** “your backs”, **abukin** “your father”). Hence we also transcribe the 2 p. pl. pass. ptc. forms, such as **šlyhytyn** “you are stripped” and **lbyšytyn** “you are (not) clothed” (e.g. JBA 15:4), as fem. following Mand. **šlihatia** “you are stripped” and **lbišatia** “you are (not) clothed” etc. (cf. the discussion in Levine 1970, 347). The exception is JBA 19—see the note to JBA 19:4.

Note that the person of Joshua bar Peraḥia also occurs in JBA 27, JBA 31, JBA 32 and JBA 42, but these texts are presented in I.2.2 as they are more typical of the Elisur Bagdana type.

Parallels for these formulae, outside the Schøyen Collection, include: AMB Bowl 5; Montgomery 8 (cf. M-K 11c), Montgomery 9, Montgomery 17, Montgomery 32 and Montgomery 33; M 2, M 11, M 50 and M 59; M-K 11, M-K 11a, M-K 11b and M-K 11d. See also Gordon 1937, 92–93; Geller 1976, 425–427.

Other spells that occur in the bowls in this section:

A character out of a character—JBA 13:4, JBA 14:4, JBA 16:5, JBA 17:4, JBA 20:6, JBA 21:7, JBA 22:4

Naked with hair dishevelled—JBA 15:4, JBA 18:3, JBA 19:4, JBA 24:3

Palḥas and Palḥadad—JBA 15:5, JBA 18:4, JBA 19:5, JBA 24:4

Spirit of the demon—JBA 15:12

Treasure houses, tufts of hair and sixty mighty thieves—JBA 18:9

You are Aphrodite—JBA 25:1

140×50 mm. Semi-formal hand. The writing is partly faded.

Client: Abusamka son of Šilta.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>פָּוֹרָא רַ' מְיָנָא וּשְׁקִילָנָא וְעֹבְדָנָא עֹבְדָה [---]</p> | 1 | [I ca]s[t a] l[ot and take (it). And] I perform a magical act. [---] |
| <p>בְּמִיָּתְיָא דְרַ' בִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּר פֶּרְחִיא כְּתִיבְנָא גִיטָא לְכָל</p> | 2 | [in] the cou[rt]-session of [Ra]bbi Jo[sh]ua bar Perahia, I write a deed of divorce to all |
| <p>סַטָּאִין וְלִילִין דְּאִתְּיָבְדִין בְּבֵיתָה דְּהַדִּין אַבּוּסָמְכָא בֶּר שִׁילְתָא דִּנְיָ</p> | 3 | sata[n]s and lilis who a[r]e in the house of this Abu[sa]mka son of this Šilta. |
| <p>בְּשֵׁם אוֹת מִיתוּךְ אוֹת וְאוֹתוֹת מִיתוּךְ אוֹתוֹת וְשִׁמּוֹת מִיתוּךְ הַגְּלוּי</p> | 4 | By the name of a character out of a character, and characters out of characters, and names out of an empty space, |
| <p>הַשִּׁמּוֹת דִּיבְהוֹן אִתְּבֻזְעוּ שְׁמִיָּא וְאַרְעָא וְטוּרֵי בְּהוֹן אִתְּעַרְקוּ וְרִמְתָּא {וְרִמְתָּא} בְּהוֹן</p> | 5 | names through which heaven and earth are split, and mountains are uprooted through them, and heights melt away |
| <p>אִתְּמַסִּיָּאָה אֶתוֹן שִׁי דִ' יְחֶרְשִׁי וְדִי וְסַטָּאִין וּפְתִיכֵי בְּהוֹן אַבְדּוּ מִן עֲלָמָה בְּכִין [סַל] יְקִינִת עֲלִיכּוֹן לְמַרְ[וּמָא]</p> | 6 | through them; you, dem[on]s, and sorcerers, and <i>dēvs</i> , and sata[ns], and idol spirits perish from the world through them. Then [I ascen]ded [against you to] the [hei]ght |
| <p>וְאִתְּיָתִית עֲלִיכּוֹן חֵיבְלָא וְחַבְלָא לְחַבּוּלֵי יִתְכּוֹן [וְ] לְאַפּוֹקֵי יִתְכּוֹן מִן בֵּיתָה דְּאַבּוּסָמְכָא בֶּר שִׁילְתָא דְּאַפְטָרָ[נָא] יִתְכּוֹ</p> | 7 | and I brought against you injury and ruin to injure you [and] to cause you to go forth from the house of Abusamka son of Šilta. For I release you |
| <p>סַסְתִּי תִירוּכִין בְּגִיט פִּיטוּרִין בְּאַגְרָת שִׁיבּוֹקָ[יִן] כְּדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲמֵן אֲמֵן סֵלָה</p> | 8 | by a document (!) of divorce, by a deed of release, by a letter of dismiss[al], according to the law of Isra[e]l. Amen, Amen, Selah. |

2. **gyt**: The left-hand stroke of the *tet* appears to serve as the right-hand stroke of the *aleph* as well.

5. **yt'rqw**: Probably a metathesised form of **yt'qrw** (cf. JBA 21:9 and JBA 22:7).

7. **'ytytyt**: "I brought"; for **'ytyty** or the like (cf. **'ytytyty** in JNF 180:8).

d'pṭm: For **dṭpṭm**. The *aleph* is anomalous, as one would expect the particle **d-** to be vocalised with *shewa* in this position.

8. **ssty**: Error for **b(y)spr** (cf. JBA 21:12). It is possible that **by-** has been lost by haplography with the preceding **-kw**, the second *samekh* is a graphic corruption of *pe*, and **-ty** is a false start for the following **tyrwkyn**.

kdt ysr'l: "according to the law of Israel". We would expect something like **kdt msh wyśr'l** "according to the law of Moses and Israel" (e.g. JBA 21:12) or **kdt bnt yśr'l** "according to the law of the daughters of Israel" (e.g. JBA 22:10); see Shaked 1999a, 179.



JBA 13 (MS 1927/5)

155×55 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The rim is chipped. The writing is partly faded. The text is surrounded by a circle.

Clients: Šilay son of Gušnazu; Nanay, his wife.

Image: In the centre of the bowl, within a circle, there is a frontal, standing figure, with hands raised to the sides of its head. The figure, apparently a masculine hybrid, is wearing a short, triangular skirt that is fastened by a large round button on the waist. The upper body consists only of a rectangular band for the arms. Due to a break in the bowl, only one leg is visible, consisting of a line going down from the skirt towards the foot. Two sharp horns protrude from a round head. The face has two circles for eyes and a horizontal eyebrow line that is attached to a rectangular nose, below which there are two stripes that probably represent the mouth. The ankles are bound by a heavy rope.



Fig. 7: Artist's impression of image from JBA 14.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>פֹּרָא [רמינא] ושקיל נא [ועובדא עב] דנא דהוה במותב רבִּי יהושוע בר</p> | 1 | <p>[I cast] a lot and take (it). And a magical act I perf[o]rm, which was in the court-session of Rabb[i] Joshua bar</p> |
| <p>פֶּר[ר]חִיא כְּתִיבְנָא [א] ליכי לִיְלִי דִּיכְרָא ולילי ניקבתא גִּיט פִּיטוּרִין ושיבו קין (כמא) דכת בִּין שִׁיִּדִּי</p> | 2 | <p>Pe[ra]hia, I write to you, male l[ili] and female lili, a deed of divorce, a deed of release and dismis[sal <just as>] demons [wri]te</p> |
| <p>גיטי ויהבִּין לנשיהון וְתוֹן בִּ לא הדרין עליהן דתיסב [י] גיטי וסיפר תִּי [י] רְכִיבִי כִּי מן שלי בר גושנזדוך</p> | 3 | <p>deeds of divorce and give (them) to their wives and they do not come back [aga]in unto them, in order that you should take your deed of divorce and your document of d[i]vo[rce] from Šilay son of Gušnazdukh</p> |
| <p>ומן נאנאי אִינתתיה בשום אִן תִּ אותות מיתוך אות אותות ושימות מיתוך שימות ונקוב מיתוך הגילוי דבהון</p> | 4 | <p>and from Nanay, his wife. By the name of a cha[rac]ter of characters out of a character of characters, and names out of names, and a hollow out of an empty space, through which</p> |
| <p>[איתכנעו ש] מִיָּה וארעה וטוריא בהון איתעקרו וראמתא בהון איתמסִיא שידי שיבטי ודיין ופגעי וסטני ולטאבי ולילתא</p> | 5 | <p>[he]aven and earth [are subdued], and mountains are uprooted through them, and heights melt away through them; demons, afflictions, and <i>dēvs</i>, and affliction demons, and satans, and no-good ones, and liliths</p> |
| <p>[--- בהון] אִיתברו מן עלמא אף אנתי לילתא תִּיתברין מן עלמה מן שִׁי לִי בר גושנזדוך ומן נאנאי אִינתתיה בכין סליקת עליכון</p> | 6 | <p>[---] are broken from the world [through them]. Also, you, lilith, shall be broken from the world, from Ši[la]y son of Gušnazdukh and from Nanay, his wife. Then I ascended against you</p> |
| <p>למרן מא ואיתיתי ע [כ] וִן חִיבִלָּא לאפקא יתכון ואפקא לאפק יִת [כון] מן שלי בר גושנזדוך ומן נאנאי אִינתתיה דפטרא יתכון בסיפר תירוכין ואיגרת שיבוקין</p> | 7 | <p>to [the] heig[ht and I brought agai]nst [y]ou injury to cause you to go forth and an expulsion to cause [you] to go forth from Šilay son of Gušnazdukh and from Nanay, his wife. For I (!) release you by a document of divorce and a letter of dismissal</p> |
| <p>גִּטִּי [פיטורין כד] ת שידין ודיין וכדת בנת ישראל</p> | 8 | <p>and a deed of [release according to the la]w of demons and <i>dēvs</i>, and according to the law of the daughters of Israel.</p> |

3. P' hdyrn 'lyhyn: See the introduction to I.2.2.

5. ytkn'w šmyh w'r'h: "heaven and earth are subdued"; restored according to JBA 16:6 and JBA 21:8. Alternatively, one could restore ytbz'w šmyh w'r'h "heaven and earth are split" in accordance with JBA 13:5 and JBA 22:6, but the traces appear to favour ytkn'w.

6. ytbw ... tytbryn: "they are broken ... (you) shall be broken", i.e. derived from the root TBR (cf., e.g., JBA 4:11). Alternatively, the verbs could be from BR, with the *ayin* elided: "they are removed ... (you) shall be removed" (cf., e.g., JNF 83:2–3; see DJBA, 841), or from BRY: "they are expelled ... (you) shall be expelled" (see DJBA, 244, s.v. BRY #3), which is common in Mandaic incantations (see MD, 69, s.v. BRA, *itpa*).

7. dpt'r: Probably an error for dpt'rn (cf. JBA 20:9, JBA 21:12 and JBA 22:9).



JBA 14 (MS 1927/39)

192×66 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded. The text is surrounded by a circle. There are three small cartouches in the centre, in two different directions, which contain the following words: יה יהו יה.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of *lamed* instead of *reš* in 'ylyhwn (l. 11)—cf. JBA 29:8, JBA 47:8;

Clients: Gundas son of Rašewandukh; Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh.

Biblical quotation: Ex 3:15.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| אסותא מן שמה תיהוי לה לביתיה | 1 | May there be healing from heaven for the house |
| דגונדאס בר רשיונדוך בשמה דרבי יהושוע בן | 2 | of Gundas son of Rašewandukh. By the name of Rabbi Joshua ben |
| פרחיא ליליתא לילית דיברא ושלניתא וחטפיתא תלתיכון | 3 | Peraḥia. Lilith, lilith of the open field, and the grabber and the snatcher: the three of you, |
| ארבעתיכון חמישתיכון ערטיל שליחיתין ולא לבישיתין סתיר שעריכון רמ[י] לאחור | 4 | the four of you, the five of you. You are stripped naked and are not clothed, your hair is dishevelled (and) cas[t] behind |
| גביכון גיטא אתא לנה מן עיבר ימא ואשתכח כתיב ביה דאבוכין פלחס שמה {וא[י]מכ[י]ן} | 5 | your back. A deed of divorce has come to us from across the sea, and there was found written in it, that your father's name is Palḥas |
| {פלחס שמה} ואימיכון פלחדד ליליתא גיטא נחית לנא מן שמה ואשתכח כתיב ביה לא שומכין ולא דוכרנכין | 6 | and your mother is the lilith Palḥadad. A deed of divorce has descended to us from heaven, and there was found written in it neither your name nor your remembrance. |
| שמיע לנה מן דוכרן אבהתנא קדמאי דישימיע להון מן רקיעא לכין שומכין לכין דוכרנכין שמיע [ע]ליכון דישלח | 7 | We heard from the memorandum of our primeval fathers, who heard from the sky: You have your name, you have your remembrance. It was heard [con]cerning you that one sent |

3. *lylyt dybr*: The Mandaic parallel, 1928/20:4, reads *lilita d-dibra* "lilith of the open field"; cf. M-K 11a:2 and Montgomery 17:3. As is illustrated by 1928/20, the form *dybr* is typical of Mandaic; *DJBA*, 313, cites only *dybr*. It is possible that this is a secondary reading, resulting from a corruption of something like *lylyt' lyly dykr' wlylyt' nyqbt'* (cf. Montgomery 8:2 in Shaked 1999a, 180, 189) or *lylyt' lylyt dkr wnyqb'* (cf. JBA 24:2).

4. *'rtyl šlyhytyn*: "you are stripped naked"; alternatively, "you are sent away naked" (cf. *DJBA*, 1147, and Levine 1970, 347; also in JBA 18:3, JBA 19:4, JBA 24:3 and JBA 62:2).

6. *P' šwmkyn w'l dwkrnkyn*: "neither your name nor your remembrance" (also in JBA 19:9 and JBA 24:7). There is a possible play on words here, with the use of the legal term *dwkrn* "memorandum" with the noun *šm*. The corresponding pair *šm* "name" and *zkrwn* "remembrance" occurs in Ex 3:15, hence the use of this verse in ll. 11–12 of this text. Gordon 1988, 153, notes the parallel use of the equivalent terms as the theophoric element in personal names from Ebla, which is perhaps indicative of their strong association with each other in the ancient near east.

- 8 עליכין בשמתא דישלח עליכין רבי יהושוע בן פרחייה לכן
שומכין לכן דוכרנכין בשמיה דפליסא פליסא ושבע[י]
ד[י] קדמוהי לכן שומכין
against you with the ban that Rabbi Joshua ben Peraḥia sent against you: You have your name, you have your remembrance. By the name of Palsa Pelisa and the seven[t]y wh[o] are in his presence: You have your name,
- 9 לכן [דוכר]נכין ובישמיה דזרניר גדא ביגדא יהיב ליכי גיטיכין
ופיטוריכין שמעי ופוקי מן ביתיה דגונדס בר רש[י] יונדוד[ן] מ[ן]
פ[ן] תח[ה] ומן דירתה
you have your [remembra]nce. And by the name of *zrnyr gd' bygd'*, (who) gives to you your deeds of divorce and your (writs of) release. Listen and go out from the house of Gundas son of Raš[ewandukh], fr[om] the do[o]rway and from the dwelling
- 10 דמהדוך בת ניונדוד'מן ביתה זרעה זמן גינה מן ניכדה מן
פיתחה ומן שורבתה ולא תיתחזן להון לא בחילמא דל[י]ליא
ולא בחי[ז] זונא ד[י]מ[מ]ה
of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, and from her house, and from her offspring, and from her child, from her grandchild, from her doorway, and from her family, and do not appear to them, neither by dream of n[igh]t nor by vi[sion of] d[a]y,
- 11 ולא בשנתהון ולא בעיליה[ן] ולא בתרתי עשרי שעי ליליה
ולא בתרתי עשרי שעי דיממה אשבעית יחיכי באור אברהם
בצור יצחק בשד[י] יע[קב] בזה משא[ן] [---] ב[זה] שמי לעלם
and neither during their sleep nor during th[e]ir waking, and neither during the twelve hours of the night nor during the twelve hours of the day. I beswear you by the Light of Abraham, by the Rock of Isaac, by Shaddai of Ja[cob], by “This is Moses [---] by “[This] is my name for ever”,
- 12 בזה זיכ[ר]י לדר דר אסיריתין וחת[ן]י מית[ן] בישמ[ן]י דר[ב]י
יהושוע בן פרחייה ושבעין דיקדמוהי רוחא דשידא איזיל מן
ב[י]תיה דגונדאס [בר] רשינדוד בשום גר[ב] שום גרועג
בשום נור
by “This is my memori[al] unto all generations”. You are bound and seal[e]d by the name of Ra[bb]i Joshua ben Peraḥia and the seventy who are in his presence. Spirit of the demon, go from the ho[us]e of Gundas [son of] Rašewandukh. By the name of Fortune, [by] the name of *grw'g*, by the name of burning

8. *bšmt'*: See the note to JBA 19:8.

9. *zrnyr gd' bygd'*: Cf. JBA 19:12 (*zwrnyr gd' bgyd'*), JBA 24:10 (*zrnyr gd' bgd'*) and JBA 62:6 (*zrnyr gdh bgyd'*), in the present corpus, and Montgomery 8:10 (*zrnyr gd' bgd'*—reading from the handcopy) and M-K 11b:9 (*zr nyrr gd' bgd'*—reading from the published photograph). M-K 11c:10 should probably be read similarly, but the name is not clear in the published photograph. The transcription *zrnyr* with *yodh* rather than *waw* is preferred on account of the Mandaic parallel, 1928/20:8–9, which reads *zarnir gida bgida*. The name *gd' bgd'* recalls such magic names as *yh byh* (e.g. MSF Bowl 20:10), *'h b'h* (e.g. MS 2053/27) and *'hyh b'hyh* (e.g. JBA 55:9). Cf. the discussion in Naveh and Shaked 1985, 164–166.

10. *wmn nynh mn nykdh*: “and from her child, from her grandchild”—borrowed from Biblical Hebrew (Gen 21:23, Is 14:22, Job 18:19; see also Ben Sira 41:5, 47:22), this expression is alliterative and thus not too dissimilar to the English phrase “kith and kin”.

bhlym' ... bhlyzwn': “by dream ... by vision”; the restoration of the second noun is based on JBA 21:12.

11–12. The invocations are loosely based on Ex 3:15 (but cf. Montgomery 1913, 160). The first invocation, *b'wr 'brhm* “by the Light of Abraham” (cf. JBA 24:12), is probably a corruption of *b'byr 'brhm* “by the Mighty One of Abraham”—cf. the Mandaic parallel, 1928/20:9, and JBA 60:8. There is some variation in how this verse is used to construct a series of invocations. Cf., e.g., JNF 205:10: *bzh šmy mšh bzh zykry ldwr dwrym* “by ‘This is my name, Moses’, by ‘This is my memorial unto all generations’”. Montgomery 8:12 (= M-K 11c:12) should probably be read *bzh šmy mšh bzh zykry ... dwrym* (reading from the handcopy in Montgomery 1913; the photograph published in Müller-Kessler 2005, 216, is mostly illegible at this point).

12. The text presents Joshua ben Peraḥia as presiding over the Sanhedrin.

12–14. These lines contain a distinct spell—cf. MS 2053/262:2–7.

- 13 דאליק בשום סק מסוק בשום ענג[י] אישתא ב[ש] ום מלאכי
 [ח] בלא ובישמיה דיה מיסק וקיד דתשד' לי שידא דישמיה
 שבור חק[---] נעביד לי כל מי דא'נה בעי'נא מ'יניה]
 בקושטא ושמה
 fire, by the name of **sq mswq**, by the name of the
 cloud[s of] fire, by the [na]me of the angels of
 [r]uin, and by the name of Yah **mysq wqyd**, in order
 that you shall send to me the demon whose name is
šbwr ḥq[---] he shall do for me whatever I [request]
 fr[om him] in truth. And the name
- 14 די{x} לא ליה ניתגלי בשום מארי'ר[בוחא] דשריא על ג[י] סני
 שמש[א] על מחתני סיהרא פוטי' שם פוטי שפני פוטי שם
 אחרונם פוטי שם[---] דאי מ[-] דאי
 that is not his (?) shall be revealed. By the name of
 the Lord of Ma[jesty] who resides upon the ... of
 [the] sun [and] upon the descent (?) of the moon
nomina barbara

13. **kl my d-**: “whatever”; defective for **kl m'y d-** (cf. *DJBA*, 561).

13–14. **wšmh dyl' lyh nytgly**: “And the name that is not his (?) shall be revealed”; MS 2053/262:6 reads **wyšm' dyl' lyh nytgly**, although **lyh** is poorly preserved in both cases.

14. **m'ry rbwt'**: “the Lord of Majesty”; the restoration is based on MS 2053/262:6. Cf. Mand. **mara d-rabuta** (*MD*, 251).

'l gysny šmš' w'l mḥtny syhr': “upon the ... of the sun and upon the descent (?) of the moon”; cf. MS 2053/262:6, which reads **'l gys'ny šmš' w'l mḥtny syhr'**.



JBA 15 (MS 1927/43)

155×60 mm. Semi-cursive hand.

Linguistic and orthographic features: On two occasions (ll. 4 and 9), the scribe writes the name Abba twice, ending the first with *he* and the second with *'aleph*.

Clients: Abba son of Titi; Maḥlafta daughter of Ašarqum.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | פּוּרָא רַמְיָנָא וּשְׁקִילְנָא וְעַבְדִּי | I cast a lot and take (it). And I perform |
| 2 | עַבְדְּנָא כְּמָה רַבִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בַּר פְּרַחְיָא וִיכְתַּבִּית | magical acts like Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia. And I have written |
| 3 | גִּטָּא לְכָל לִילִיתָא בִּישְׁתָּא דִּיכְרִי וְנִיקְבַּתָּא מִשְׁמַתָּא מְלוּיָתָא דְּמִיתְחֻזִּיא | a deed of divorce to all evil liliths, male and female, the ban demon, the companion demon, who appear |
| 4 | לְבָה לְאַבְבָּא בְּרִי תִּיתִי וְלִמְחַלְפַּתָּא בְּתָּא אֲשַׁרְקוּם בְּחִלְמָא דְּלַיְלִיָּה וּבִשְׁנֵיתָא {דִּימָא} דִּימָמָא וְאַנְהָ | to Abba, to Abba son of Titi and to Maḥlafta daughter of Ašarqum by dream of night and by sleep of day. And I |
| 5 | כְּתִיבְנָא עֲלֵיכִין גִּטָּא גִּטָּא פִּיטוּרִין וְשְׁבוּקִין בְּשׁוּם אוֹת מִיתוּךְ אוֹת אוֹתִיּוֹת מִיתוּךְ אוֹתִיּוֹת וְשׁוּם | write against you a deed of divorce, a deed of release and dismissal. By the name of a character out of a character, characters out of characters, and a name |
| 6 | מִיתוּךְ הַשִּׁמָּתָא וּנְקֵבִי מִיתוּךְ הַשְׁמָתָא וּנְקֵבִי מִיתוּךְ הָאֵל הַגָּלִיל וְדִבְהוֹן יִתְכַּעֲבוּ שְׁמִיָּה וְאַרְעָה וְטוּרָא בַּהוֹן | out of names, and hollows out of names, and hollows out of an empty space, through which heaven and earth are subdued (!), and mountain(s) are uprooted |
| 7 | וִיתְעַקְרוּן וְרִמּוּתָא בַּהוֹן וִיתְמַסְרוּן שִׁידֵי וְחֲרָשֵׁי בַּהוֹן {בְּהוֹן} עֲבָרוּ מִן עֲלָמָא בְּ[כִין ס] לִיקָתָּ עֲלֵיכִין לְמִירוּמָא מִיחְבַּלְאבְּלָא | through them, and heights are lowered through them; demons and sorcerers pass away from the world through them. T[hen] I [as]cended against you to the height to injure (!) |

1–2. **w'bdy 'bdn'**: Cf. M 59:5 and JNF 146:8, which have the same reading. It is possible that the *yodh* is a 1 p. sg. pron. suffix: “and I perform my magical act”.

4. **{dym} dymm'**: The ink is much darker and the stroke is much thicker following the false start, suggesting that the scribe began the word again after refilling his stylus.

5. The scribe does not consistently distinguish between *waw* and *yodh*, often using either a short or long letter indiscriminately. Thus **'wtwywt** appears to have been written **'wtwyt** both times; similarly, **mytwk** appears to have been written **mytyk**.

wšwm: Reading with Montgomery 1913, 161, and Levene 2003a, 36. For the writing of **šwm** “name” with a *waw* in Babylonian Rabbinic Hebrew, see Mishor 2007, 222–223, and Breuer 2002, 162–163 (especially n. 646).

6. This line is very problematic. The phrase **wynqby mytwk hšmt** does not occur in M 59 or JNF 146, so it may be an error for the following **wynqby mytwk h'l hgylw**. The word *h'l* is obscure, but seems to have been part of the practitioner's established text, as it also occurs in M 59:9 and JNF 146:10. The word **hgylw** corresponds to **hgylwy** (e.g. JBA 14:4) or **hglwy** (e.g. JBA 21:8) in other bowls. It is possible that **hgylw** < **hgylwy**, reflecting the contraction of the diphthong *-ūy* to *-ō* or *-ū* in final position that is known from Qumran and Samaritan Hebrew (see Qimron 1986, 33; Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 65 & 202).

yt'w: Probably an error for **yt'kn'w** (cf. JBA 21:8). The same reading occurs in M 59:9 and JNF 146:10.

7. **myhbl'bl'**: The same reading occurs in JNF 146:11, whereas M 59:10 reads simply **myhbl'**. The expected reading is something along the lines of **w'ytyty 'lykwn mhbl' lhbl ytkwn** “and I brought against you an injurer to injure you” (cf. JBA 21:10). The present reading appears to be a corruption of this, although it remains possible that the scribe intended to write an inf. abs. followed by an inf. cstr., i.e. **myhbl lhbl' > myhbl l'bl' > myhbl'bl'**.

8 לאַעוּקִי אַתִּין לִלִיתָּ בִּישְׁתָּא (and) to cause to go forth (!), you, evil liliths,

Above l. 7:

9 {א} מן ביתא דאבה דאבא בר תיתי אמן אמן סלה from the house of Abba, of Abba son of Titi. Amen, Amen, Selah.

8. P^{wqy}: An apparent graphic error for P^{pwqy} (cf. JBA 21:10, JNF 146:11, M 59:11).



JBA 16 (MS 1929/16)

170 × 70 mm. Semi-cursive hand. The rim is chipped. The writing is partly faded.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of the archaic *haf*: *hytyyyt* (l. 6) for the usual *'ytyty*.

Note also the tendency to write redundant *waws* and *yodhs*: *bynbbww* (l. 4), *'wttywwt* (l. 5), *'yytbz'ww* (l. 5), *ṭwwryh* (l. 5), *'yyt'qrw* (l. 5), *'yytmsy'yh* (l. 6), *šyydy* (l. 6), *'bdww* (l. 6), *hytyyyt* (l. 6), *yytkwn* (ll. 6 and 7), and *tyyrwky* (l. 7).

Clients: Be-Nebo son of Bat-Šappetay; Maḥlafta daughter of Lalay, his wife.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>[ל]שמך אֲנִי עוֹשֶׂה דִין קמיעא דִּיהוּי להון לָא[ס] וְ[להדין בינבוו בר בתשפתי]</p> | 1 | <p>[By] your name I make this amulet in order that it may be for he[al]ing [for this Be-Nebo son of Bat-Šappetay]</p> |
| <p>ולהדא מחלפתא בת לָא[ליי] איתתיה וכל שום דאית להון פּוּרָא [רמינא ושקלנה] ע[ובדא ע]בְדנא</p> | 2 | <p>and for this Maḥlafta daughter of La[lay], his wife, and any name that they have. [I cast] a lot [and take (it)]. A ma[gical act] I [per]form.</p> |
| <p>וְהוּא הוּא בְּמִוְתוֹב [רבי יהוש]וע בר פרחיה כתבנָא לָהּ [ג]י[ט]א לְכָל [סטני] וְלִילִי[ן ד]אִי[ת] בְּבִיתָהּ דְּהָדִין</p> | 3 | <p>And that (which) was in the court-session of [Rabbi Josh]ua bar Peraḥia, I write to them [a de]ed of [div]orce, to all [the satan]s and lil[is who] ar[e] in the house of this</p> |
| <p>בינבוו בר בְּתִשְׁפָּתִי וְ[ה]דָא מחלפתא [ב]ת[ל]אלי איתתיה גיטא גִּיט פִּטוּרִין ואִגְרִית שיבוקין בְּש[ום] אות מיתוך</p> | 4 | <p>Be-Nebo son of Bat-Šappetay and of [t]his Maḥlafta [daug]hter of [L]alay, his wife: a deed of divorce, a deed of release, and a letter of dismissal. By the na[me of] a character out of</p> |
| <p>אֲו[ת]י[ו]ן[ת] מִיְתוֹן דְּאוֹתוּיּוֹת ושם מִי[ת]וֹד[ה] ש[מוֹת] וּנְק[ו]ב מִיְתוֹךְ הַגִּילוי ד[יבהון] אייתבזעו שמיא וארעה ו[ט]זוריה בהון אִי[ת]עֲקָרִי וְרמ[ת]אָ בהוּן</p> | 5 | <p>(a character, and) cha[r]acter[s] out of characters, and a name ou[t of na]mes, and a holl[o]w out of an empty space, [through] w[hich] heaven and earth are split, and [mo]untains ar[e] uprooted through them, [and heig]hts [m]elt aw[ay]</p> |
| <p>[אי]תמסִּיא[יהו] שי[די] וְחֲרָשִׁי וְ[די]י וְטמ[רי] וְס[ט]ג[ני] וְלָטְבִי בהון אבדוּ מן ע[למ]הּ בכך סליקית עליכון למרומיה וְהִיתִי[ת] עליכון חבלא יח[ביל] יי[תכון] ינפ[ק]</p> | 6 | <p>through the[m; and] demo[ns and sorcerers and] d[ēvs and hidd]en ones and sa[ta]n[s and] no-good ones perish from the wo[rld] through them. Then I ascended against you to the heights and I brought against you ruin (that) will in[jure you (and) cause] you [to go]</p> |
| <p>ייתכון מן ביתיה ד[ה]דִּין בינבו[ו] ב[ר]ב[ת]שְׁפָּתִי וּמִן הדא מחלפתא בת [ל]אֲלִי אית[ת]י[ה] ד[פס]רנא ייתכון מנהון בספר תיירוכין מִיְנָה[ון] ---</p> | 7 | <p>[for]th from the house [of] this Be-Neb[o] so[n of Ba]t-Šappetay [and from] this Maḥlafta daughter of [L]alay, [h]is wif[e]. For I [relea]se you from them by a document of divorce from th[em ---]</p> |
| <p>[ואגרי]ת שִׁיבּוֹקִין [מ]וּ יוּמָא דִּין ולעלם אֲמֵן [---]</p> | 8 | <p>[and a letter of] dismissal [fr]om this [day] and for ever. Amen [---]</p> |

4. *wdhd*: The first *dalet* is poorly preserved, but the traces resemble those of the second *dalet* (see the note to JBA 20:5).

5. The scribe appears to have omitted *'wt w-* at the start of this line (cf. JBA 20:6).



JBA 17 (MS 2053/33)

180×65 mm. Semi-formal hand. The rim is chipped at a few points. The writing is mostly faded.

| | | |
|--|----|--|
| [---] | 1 | [---] |
| [פר] חייא ליל[יתא --- ארבעתי] כין | 2 | [Pera]h̄ia. Lil[ith, --- the four of] you, |
| חמִישְׁתִּיכִן עֶרְטִיל [של] יחי[תין] וְלֹא [לבישיתין --- לאו] חרִ | 3 | the five of you. [You] are [strip]ped naked and are not [clothed --- beh]ind |
| גִּבְיִכִן גִּיטָא אַתָּה לָנָה מִן עֵיבֵר יִמָּה [ואישתב] ח כת[יב ---] | 4 | your back. A deed of divorce has come to us from across the sea, [and there was foun]d writ[ten ---] |
| לִיִּיתָא גִּיטָה נְחִיָּת מִן שְׁמִיָּה [ואי]שְׁתַּכַּח [כ]ת[יב] בִּיהָ [---] אַבְהָתָנָה | 5 | the lilith (Palḥadad). A deed of divorce has descended from heaven, [and there was] found [wr]it[ten] in it [---] our pr[im]ev[al] |
| ק[ד]מ[אי ד] ישמע'ע להון מן רקיעה לכין [--- דוכ] רנכין שמיע [---] | 6 | fathers, [wh]o heard from the sky: You have [---] your [remem]brance. It was heard [---] |
| [--- בשמ] יה דפֿלסא פליסא ושבעין [--- ו] פֿיטוֹרִיכִין | 7 | [--- By] the [name] of Palsa Pelisa and the seventy [--- and] your (writ[s] of) release. |
| [שמעי ופ] וקי מן ביתיה [--- ו]ל[א] ביבְעִירִי[ה] ון | 8 | [Listen and go] out from the house [---] no[r] during [th]eir waking (!). |
| אשבעית עלכי במרִי גנזיך ובצוצ[יתכי דאם] נִפְקַת מן ביתיה [---] | 9 | I beswear you by the master of your treasure houses and by the tufts [of your hair, that if] you go out from the house [---] |
| [---] מִיתִינָא עֲלֵכִי שִׁיתִין גַּבְרִין גַּנְבִין וְאַסְרִי[ן יתיכי ---] ו[י] בְּכַבְלִין [דנח] ש[---] | 10 | [---] I will bring against you sixty mighty thieves and [they] will bind [you ---] and with chains [of bron]ze [---] |

8. *byb'yryhwn*: Lit. "with their cattle", but probably an error for *b(y)'yryhwn* (cf. JBA 15:11).
9–10. This is a well attested spell. For a better preserved example, cf. MS 1927/38:8–9.



JBA 18 (MS 2053/103)—general view



JBA 18 (MS 2053/103)—section one



JBA 18 (MS 2053/103)—section two



JBA 18 (MS 2053/103)—section three



JBA 18 (MS 2053/103)—section four

155 × 65 mm. Semi-cursive hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded. Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the redundant *waws* in **hwwrmyz** (ll. 2 and 7), **šbwrdwwk** (ll. 2 and 7), **pwwqww** (ll. 6 and 12), **šwwmkwn** (l. 12) and **šm'ww** (l. 12); note the use of *'ayin* as *mater lectionis* for /i/ in **d'rtyhwn** (l. 13; cf. **dyrtyh** in l. 6); note also the use of *'aleph* in **wyl'kwn** (l. 12) and the elision of etymological *'aleph* in **lhwr** (l. 5).

Clients: Hormiz son of Imma; Šaburdukh daughter of ʾṬṭay, his wife.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| לישמך אני עושה דין קמיעא דיהוי להון לאסו | 1 | By your name I make this amulet in order that it may be for healing |
| להדין הורמיז בר אמה ולהדא שבִּוֹדְדוּךְ בת טוטיי איתתיה וכל שום | 2 | for this Hormiz son of Imma and for this Šaburdukh daughter of ʾṬṭay, his wife, and any name |
| דאית להון דין הוא ג[י]טא דליתא בישמיה דיפזריה יהואאל ליליתא | 3 | that they have. This is the d[e]d of divorce of the lilith. By the name of pzryh yhw ’l. Liliths, |
| לילית דיכרא ולילית נוקבתא ושלניתא וחטטיתא ערטיילי שלחתון ולא לבישתון | 4 | male lilith and female lilith, and the grabber and the snatcher: You are stripped naked and are not clothed, |
| כולכון תלתיכון ארבעתיכון וחמישתיכון סתיר שעריכון ורמי לח[ו] גביכון שמיע | 5 | all of you, the three of you, the four of you, and the five of you; your hair is dishevelled and cast behi[n]d your back. It was heard |
| עליכון אבוכון פלחֶס שְׁמִיה ואימכון פלחדד ליליתא פווקו מן ביתי[ה] ומן דירתיה ומן פגריה | 6 | concerning you: your father’s name is Palḥas, and your mother is the lilith Palḥadad. Go out from the house and from the dwelling and from the body |
| דהדין הורמיז בר אמה ומן הדא שבִּוֹדְדוּךְ בת טוטיי איתתיה ד[י]שמ[י] עֵלִיכוֹן דישלח ע[ל]יכוֹן | 7 | of this Hormiz son of Imma and from this Šaburdukh daughter of ʾṬṭay, his wife. Fo[r] it [was] heard concerning you that one sent aga[inst] you |
| שמתא דישלח עֵלִיכוֹן רבי יהושוע בר פרחיה אומיתִי עליכון בייקורא דאבוכון ובייקורא דאימכון בשום פלחֶס | 8 | the ban that Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia sent against yo[u]. I have adjured you by the honour of your father and by the honour of your mother. By the name of Pa[l]ḥas |

3. **pzryh yhw**’l: This magic name appears as **pzrhy**’ **wh**’l in JBA 62:1 and as **pzryh yh**’l in Montgomery 8:2 and M-K 11b:3. The Mandaic bowl, 1928/20:4, reads **pzarhd**’il. It is not the name of a lilith (contra Müller-Kessler 2005, 50 and 200); i.e. it is not modified by the following **lylyt**’ as it is replaced by the name of Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia in some of the parallel texts (cf. JBA 15:2–3 and JBA 24:1–2).

4. **hṭṭyt**’: Corruption of **hṭpyt**’ (cf. JBA 15:3). The same form occurs in JBA 62:2 and Wolfe 69:4. The Mandaic bowl, 1928/20:5, has the equivalent form **haṭaṭita**. It appears, therefore, that the form **hṭṭyt**’ arose at an early stage in the transmission of the spell due to the graphic similarity between *pe-yodh* and *ṭet*.

’rtyly šlhṭwn: See the note to JBA 15:4. The usual reading of the first word is **’rtyl**. The same reading occurs, however, in Wolfe 69:5, which was written by the same hand. The explicit masc. pl. form suggests that the practitioner treated the group of liliths as masculine (cf. **lylyt dykr**’ **wlylyt nwqbt**’ “male lilith and female lilith” earlier in l. 4). We thus transcribe the relevant pron. suffixes and 2 p. pl. pass. ptc. forms in this section as masc. The second word is defective for **šlyhytwn**—cf. Morgenstern 2010a, 285.

8. **šmt**’: “the ban”; cf. **bšmt**’ “with the ban” in JBA 15:8 and JBA 24:5. The text seems to make better sense without the preposition.

- 9 your father, and by the name of Palḥadad your mother. A deed of divorce has descended to us from heaven, and there was found written in [i]t [nei]ther your name nor your remembrance. By the name of Palsa
- 10 Pelisa, (who) gives to you your deeds of divorce and your (writs of) release, your deeds of divorce and your (writs of) release, you, the grabber, by the ban that Rabbi Joshua ba[r Peraḥ]ia sent against you. And thus [Rabbi] Joshua
- 11 [רבי] יהושע בר פרחיה גיטא אתה לנה מן עבר ימיה ואישתא [כ]ח כתיב ביה אבוכון פלחס שמה ואימכון פלחדד שמיע לנה מן דוכרון אנה א[בהת]נה
- 12 fa[thers], who heard from the sky: And you have your name. By the name of *zwnyr gd' bgyd'*, go out and li[st]en and go ou[t], and do [no]t appear to this Ho[rmi]z
- 13 son of Imma, [and to this Šaburdukh daughter of Tuṭay], his [wif]e, neither in their house nor in their dwelling, and nei[ther] ---]

Outside:

[---] 14 [---]

9. P' šmykwn wl' dwkrnkwn: See the note to JBA 15:6.

11–12. mn dwkrwn 'nh 'bhtnh qdm'yy: Cf. Wolfe 69:11. Probably an error for mn dwkrn 'bhtnh qdm'y (e.g. JBA 15:7).

12. mn rgy'° wyl'kwn šwwmkwn: Wolfe 69:11 similarly reads mn rgy'° wl'kwn šwwmkwn. Cf. Montgomery 8:9–10 (= M-K 11c): myn rgy'° wl'kyn šwmyn “from the sky: You have names” (reading from the copy in Montgomery; the photograph published by Müller-Kessler is illegible at this point). Similarly, M-K 11b:9 reads ... wl'kyn šwmyyn (reading from the photograph; Müller-Kessler reads ml'kyn šmhyn), which also occurs in the fully preserved parallel JNF 205:9 (written by the same scribe as Montgomery 8 and M-K 11b). It is possible that a similar reading occurred in JBA 24:9, but the text is broken.

zwnyr gd' bgyd': See the note to JBA 15:9.

14. There is some writing on the outside, close to the rim, but it is too faded to enable decipherment.



JBA 19 (MS 2053/132) with label



150 x 50 mm. Semi-cursive hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of the archaic *haf.* **hytyyyt** (l. 8) for the usual **'ytyty**.

Note also the tendency to write redundant *waws* and *yodhs*: **pwwr**⁷ (l. 3), **rmyyn**⁷ (l. 3), **'wtýwwt** (twice in l. 6), **'yytbz'ww** (l. 7), **twwryh** (l. 7), **'yyt'qrww** (l. 7), **'yytmsy'yh** (l. 7), **šydy** (l. 7), **'bdww** (l. 8), **hytyvyt** (l. 8), and **dyyn** (l. 9).

Clients: Mesanneqa son of Tiqla; Mama daughter of Hormizdukh, his wife.

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>[לישמ] יד אני עוש[ה] דין [קמ] יעא דיהוי להון לאס[ו]</p> <p>להדין מסנקא בר תיקלא ולהא ממא בת הורמיזדוך איתתיה</p> <p>וכל שום דאית ליהון פוורא רמיינא ושקלנה עובדא עבדנא והוא</p> <p>הוה במותוב רבי יהושע בר פרחיה כתבנא להון גיטא לכל סטנן ולילין דאית</p> <p>בביתיה דהדין מס[נק]א בר תיקלא ומן הדא דהדא ממא בת הורמיזדוך איתתיה גיטא גיט</p> <p>פ[יטורי] וזאגריט שׁיב[וקין בשום או]ת [מי]ת[ת]י אות ואותיות מיתוך [א]ותיות ושם מיתוך השמות ונקוב מיתוך</p> <p>הגילוי דיבהון איית[בזעוו שמי]א וארעה וטווריה בהון אייתעקרו ורמתא בהון אייתמסיאיה ושידיי וחרשי ודיוי וטמירי</p> <p>וסטני ולטבי בהון אבדוון [ז]עלמה [ב]כין סליקית עליכון למרומיה והתייית עלי[כו]ן חבלא יחבילי [י]תכון [יג]פ[י]ק יתכון מן ביתיה</p> | <p>1 [By] your [name] I mak[e] this [amu]let in order that it may be for heal[ing]</p> <p>2 for this Mesanneqa son of Tiqla and for this Mama daughter of Hormizdukh, his wife,</p> <p>3 and any name that they have. I cast a lot and take (it). A magical act I perform. And that (which)</p> <p>4 was in the court-session of Rabbi Jo[sh]ua bar Peraḥia, I write to them a deed of divorce, to all the satans and lilis who are</p> <p>5 in the house of this Mesa[nneq]a son of Tiqla and of this Mama daughter of Hormizdukh, his wife: a deed of divorce, a deed of</p> <p>6 r[eleas]e, and a letter of dis[missal]. By the name of a charac[ter] [ou]t [ol]f a character, and characters out of [ch]aracters, and a name out of names, and a hollow out of</p> <p>7 an empty space, through which [heav]en and earth are [split], and mountains are uprooted through them, and heights melt away through them; and demons, and sorcerers, and <i>dēvs</i>, and hidden ones,</p> <p>8 and satans and no-good ones perish fr[om] the world through them. [T]hen I ascended against you to the heights and I brought against [yo]u ruin (that) will injure you (and) [cause] you [to go] fo[r]th from the house</p> |
|--|--|

5. **wmn hd' dhd'**: It appears that the scribe has corrected **wmn hd'** "and from this" to **wdhd'** "and of this". As often occurs, the error has not been crossed out. The error may have been caused by the occurrence of **wmn hd'**, in a similar context, in l. 9. Cf. JBA 17:4, which appears to read **wdhd'**.

7. ⁷yyt**bz**'ww: "are split"; restored following JBA 17:5 and M 11:6 (cf. also JBA 13:5 and JBA 22:6). Alternatively, restore according to JBA 16:6 and JBA 21:8: ⁷yt**kn**'ww šmyh w'r'h: "heaven and earth are subdued".

- 9 דהדין מִסְּ[נקא בר] תִּיקלא ומן הד[א] מִמָּא [ב]ת הורמיזדוך
 איתתיה דפטרנא יתכון מינ[ה]ון בספר תירוב[י]ן [ואגר]ת
 שִׁבּוֹקִין מִן [יומא] דיין ולעלם אמֵן אִמֵן סְלֵה
 of this Mesa[nneqa son of] Tiqla and from thi[s]
 Mama [daug]hter of Hormizdukh, his wife. For I
 release you from [th]em by a document of divor[c]e
 [and a let]ter of dismissal, from this [day] and for
 ever. Amen, Amen, Selah.



JBA 20 (MS 2053/150)

155 × 70 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a small portion.
The rim is chipped.

Clients: Naward son of Nabiya (?); Yawita, his wife; Aḥay son of Yawita.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| פ[ורא] רמ[י] נא[ן] שְׁקִילָנָא וְעוּבְדָא | 1 | I cas[t] a l[ot and] take (it). And a magical act, |
| הא עבדנא וְהוּא ה[ן] במוֹתב | 2 | behold, I perform. And that (which) w[a]s in the court-session of |
| ר[ר] בִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּר פֶּרְחִיא כְּתַבְנָא לְהוֹן גִּיטָא לְכָל שִׂידִין | 3 | [Ra]bbi Joshua bar Peraḥia, I write to them a deed of divorce, to all the demons, |
| וְשִׁיפְטִין וּפִגְעִין וְסַטָּנִין וְיִרְוִין וְלִילִין בִּישָׁן דִּיכְרִין | 4 | and afflictions, and affliction demons, and sata[ns], and yaror demons, and evil lilis, male |
| וְנוֹקְבָן וְלִכְלָל פִּיטִירִין וּמְזִיקִין בִּישָׁן דִּיכְרִין שְׁמִיהוֹן וְדִלָא דְכִיר שְׁמִיהוֹן | 5 | and female, and to all enemies, and evi[l] tormentors, whose name is mentioned or whose name is not mentioned, |
| דְּאִית בְּהַדִּין בִּיתִּיה דְּנוֹרַד בֶּר נְבִיאָא וְדִאֲחִי בֶר יוֹיָאָא וּמִיתְחֻן בְּ[ח] יִלְמִין וּבְחִיּוֹנִין | 6 | who are in this house of Naward son of Nabiya (?) and of Aḥay son of Yawita, and appear by [d]reams and by visions, |
| וּמְדַחְלִין יִתְהוֹן וּמְעִיקִין לְהוֹן בְּמוֹזְנִיהוֹן גִּיטָא גִּטָּא פִּיטוֹרִין וְשִׁיבּוֹקִין בְּשׁוּם אוֹת מִתּוֹךְ אוֹת | 7 | and frighten them and distress them in their livelihood: a deed of divorce, a deed of release and dismissal. By the name of a character out of a character, |
| וְאוֹתִיּוֹת מִתּוֹךְ אוֹתִיּוֹת וְשֵׁם מִתּוֹךְ הַשְּׁמוֹת וְנוֹקְבָן מִתּוֹךְ הַגְּלוּי דְּבָהוֹן אִיתְכְּנַעוּ שְׁמִיה וְאַרְעָה וְטוֹרִיאָא בְּהוֹן | 8 | and characters out of characters, and a name out of names, and a hollow out of an empty space, through which heaven and earth are subdued, and mountains are uprooted |
| אִיתְעַקְרוּ וְרֵאמַתָּא בְּהוֹן אִיתְמַסִּיאָה שִׂידִי חֲרָשִׁי דִּיּוּ וְלִטְבִּי בְּהוֹן אֲבָדוּ מִן עֲלָמָא בְּכִין סְלִיקִית עֲלִיכּוֹן לְמִרּוּמָא | 9 | through them, and heights melt away through them; demons, sorcerers, <i>dēvs</i> and no-good ones perish from the world through them. Then I ascended against you to the height |

5. **pytyryn**: “enemies”; from Iranian *peṭyārag* “enemy” (see Shaked *apud* Greenfield and Naveh 1985, 106). The sg. form **pytyr** is attested in JNF 122:5, which reads: **wpytyr** byš “and evil enemy”; see also IM 212103:4, 8 (Al-Jubouri 2012). For the metathesised form **pytywty**, see Müller-Kessler 2011a, 23. Note also the cognate abstract noun **pytyrwt** in a list of demonic forces in MS 2053/39:12—**wmn kl pytyrwt** “and from all enmity” (see also Wolfe 3:7). The same word most probably appears as **pytrwt** in Aaron Bowl B:3–4—**wmn pytrwt dbny ynšh** “and from the enmity of humans” (Geller 1986, 109, translates “expulsion”, and is followed by *DJBA*, 899). For the Mand. equivalent **piṭiaruta**, see *MD*, 370.

6. The reading of the end of the name **nby**’, both here and in l. 10, is uncertain. Furthermore, the vocalisation “Nabi” is also possible.

- 10 ואיתיתי עליכון [---] לְהַבֵּל יתכון ולאפק יתכון מן כוליה הדין
ביתיה ומדריה דהדין נורד בר נביא וּמֶן קינינ[י]הּ
and I brought against you [---] to injure you and to
cause you to go forth from all this house and
dwelling of this Naward son of Nabiya (?), and from
h[i]s property,
- 11 וּמֶן מזוניה וּמֶן כל דאית לה וּמֶן כל בנוהי וכל בנתוהי דאית
לה ודהון לה וליויתא איתתיה ולא תיתח[זון להון]
and from his livelihood, and [from] all that he has,
and from all his sons and all his daughters that he
has and that he will have, (he) and Yawita, his wife.
And you shall not ap[pear to them],
- 12 לא בחילמ[י]ן ולא בחיוזינ[ד] פטרנא [י]תכון מִיְנֵהוּן בספר
תרוכין וגט פיטורין ואיגרת שִׁבּוּקִין כדת משה וישראל מן
יומ[א] ד[י]ן וְלַעֲלָם אָמֵן אָמֵן
neither by dreams nor by visions. [For] I release you
from them by a document of divorce and a deed of
release and a letter of dismissal, according to the law
of Moses and Israel, from th[i]s da[y] and for ever.
Amen, Amen,
- 13 סלה [ה]ללויה לשמך עשית[י] גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל חתימין
על הדין עובדא
Selah, [Ha]llelujah. By your name [I] have acted.
Gabriel and Michael and Raphael sign on this legal
document.

10. lhbl ytkwn: “to injure you”; there is something resembling an extra final *nun*.



JBA 21 (MS 2053/164)

150×52 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a small portion.

The writing is partly faded.

Client: Giza son of Duday (cf. the names in MS 1929/4).

| | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1 | פּוּרָא [רמינא] וּשְׁקִלְנָא וְעוֹבְדָא | [I cast] a lot and take (it). And a magical act |
| 2 | עבִדְנָא [---] בְּמוֹתְבִי רַבִּי [י] יְהוֹשֻׁעַ | I perform [---] in the court-session of Rabb[i] Joshua |
| 3 | בֶּר פֶּרַחִיָּא כְתָבְנָא לְהוֹן גִּיטָא לְכָל [סְטִנִּין וְלִילִיִּין] | bar Perahia, [I] writ[e to them] a deed of divorce, to all the satans and lilis |
| 4 | דְּאִית בְּהִדִּין בֵּית [יָה] דְּגִיזָא בְּרִי דְּדוּדַי גִּיטָא גַּט פִּיטוּרִין וְשִׁיבּוֹקִין בְּשֵׁ [וּם] | who are in this house of Giza son of Duday: a deed of divorce, a deed of release and dismissal. By the na[me of] |
| 5 | [אוֹת] מֵת [ו] דְּאוֹת וְאוֹתוֹת מֵתוּךְ אוֹתוֹת וּשְׁם | [a character] out [o]f a character, and characters out of characters, and a name |
| 6 | מֵתוּךְ הַשִּׁימוֹת וְנִקְוָב מֵת [ו] דְּהַגְלוֹי דְּבַהוֹן אִיתְּבִזְעוּ שְׁמִיָּה וְאַרְעָה | out of names, and a hollow out [o]f an empty space, through which heaven and earth are split, |
| 7 | וְטוּרִיָּא בַּהוֹן אִיתְּעִקְרוּ וְרֵאמָתָא בַּהוֹן אִיתְּמַסִּיָּא שִׁידֵי חֲרָשִׁי דִּינִי וְלִטְבִּי | and mountains are uprooted through them, and heights melt away through them; demons, sorcerers, <i>dēvs</i> and no-good ones |
| 8 | בַּהוֹן אֲבָדוּ מִן עֲלָמָא בְּכִין סְלִיקִיתְ עֲלִיכּוֹן לְשִׁמְ[י] מְ[רומא] וְאִיתְּיָתִי עֲלִיכּוֹן חֲבֵלָא לְחַבֵּל יִתְכּוֹן | perish from the world through them. Then I ascended against you to the heaven[s] on [high and] I [br]ought against you ruin to injure you |
| 9 | וְלֵאפֶּק יִתְכּוֹן מִן בֵּיתִי [ה] וּמִן מְדִרְיָה דְּגִיזָא [י] א [בֶּר] דְּדוּדַי [פ] טְרַנָּא יִתְכּוֹן מִינְהוֹן בְּסַפֵּר | and to cause you to go forth from the house and from the dwelling of G[iz]a [son of] Duda[y]. For I [re]lease you from them by a document of |
| 10 | תְּרוּכִין וְאִיגְרִת שִׁיבּוֹק [יז] כְּדָת בְּ[ג]ת יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן [יז] מָא דִּי [ז] וְלַע [ל] אֲמֵן אֲמֵן סֵלָה הַלְלוּיָהּ לְשִׁמְךָ | divorce and a letter of dismiss[al], according to the law of the dau[ght]ers of Israel, from thi[s da]y and for e[v]er. Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallelujah. By your name |
| 11 | עֲשִׂיתִי | I have acted. |

2. We would expect something like **whw' hwh** "and that (which) was" between **'bdn'** and **bmwtb** (e.g., cf. JBA 17:3), but the lacuna appears to be too small.

8. **lšmy mrwm'**: "to the heavens on high"; the expected reading is **lmrwm'** "to the height", "to on high" (e.g., cf. JBA 21:9). For the restoration **lšmy mrwm'**, cf. TPs-J Gen 11:28: **mn yd nplt 'yšt' mn šmy mrwm' wgmrtyh** "immediately fire fell from the heavens on high and consumed him".



JBA 22 (MS 2053/165)

163×55 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The rim is chipped. The writing is partly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle.

Clients: [Farro]kh so[n of Ra]šewandukh; Dukhtbeh daughter of Gušnašp-fri, his wife.

Image: In the centre of the bowl, within a circle, there is a poorly preserved frontal figure, standing with arms outstretched. By her long hair and wide dress, we can identify the figure as a female. The hands are made of thin lines. The legs are shown below the dress, facing outwards and very wide as if wearing shoes.



Fig. 8: Artist's impression of image from JBA 23.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>אל כפתינן לכיפי ארעה ואסרתינן למזלי רקיעא נקט[תינן] וא[סרתינן לשדי</p> | <p>1 'I. I have tied up the rocks of the earth and bound the constellations of the sky. [I] have seiz[ed and bo]und the demons</p> |
| <p>למ[ז]יקי דאית בעלמא כוליה מירב[ר]ביון ועד דעדקיהון ב[י] דידע[נ]א שמה</p> | <p>2 (and) the tormentors (!) that are in the entire world, from their adults to their children, wh[et]her I know his name</p> |

1. 'I: An unusual word for the beginning of an inscription, and one that is difficult to explain.

kptynwn: "I have tied them up"; i.e. from the root KPT, and parallel with the following 'srtynwn "I have bound them". Alternatively, it could possibly be derived from KPP/KWP, "I have overcome them" (Morgenstern 2005, 364).

kypy 'r'h: "the rocks of the earth"; alternatively, "the edges of the earth".

2. **myqy**: An emendation to **mzyqy** "tormentors" seems likely in light of the occurrence of **mzyqy** in the parallel context in AMB Bowl 5:3. Without emendation, however, it is possible to understand **myqy** as a phonetic spelling of **m'yqy** "oppressors" (cf. JBA 21:7, where **m'yqy** is used as a verb). For such a spelling in a different context, see Morgenstern 2007, 250.

d'dqyhwn: "their children"; see Naveh and Shaked 1985, 162, for a discussion of the variant forms of **drdq** "child". Cf. also JBA 25:5.

2–3. In both cases, **yd** appears to be an error for **yd'n**.

- 3 ובין דלא ידענא {ש} שמיא ודלא ידע(נ)א שמ[י]ה כתב
מפריש בגיטא דאתא לנא מן עיבר ימא די כתבו
or I do not know his name. And the one whose name
I do not know is written (and) specified in the deed
of divorce that has come to us from across the sea,
which they wrote
- 4 ושדרו רב יהושע בר פרחיא דכד הות ההי ליליתא דמנוקא
בבני אינשא אף אתון שידי וליליתא
and sent (to) Rav Joshua bar Peraḥia. For just as
there was that lilith who harms human beings, also
you, demons and liliths
- 5 ופתכרי כ[--- פרו] ב[ר ר] שונדוך ומן ביתה דדוכתביה בת
גושנצפפרי אינתתא
and idol spirits [--- Farro]kh so[n of Ra]šewandukh
and from the house of Dukhtbeh daughter of
Gušnašp-fri, (his) wife
- 6 [---] אמן אמן סלה הללויה
[---] Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallelujah.

3. **ktb mpryš**: These should both be regarded as pass. ptc.

4. **dkd**: "for just as"; cf. *DJBA*, 570.



JBA 23 (MS 2053/206)

157×58 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The writing is partly faded.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note P'whwr for P'hw (l. 4).

Clients: Mat-Yišu daughter of Bat-Sahde; Drakhta, her husband (same family in JBA 46).

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>לשמך אני עושה קדישא רבה בשמיה דרבי יהושע</p> | 1 | By your name I act, great holy one. By the name of Rabbi Joshua |
| <p>בר פרח[י]א ליליתא דכר ונִיקְבָּא שלנ[ית]א וחטפיתא</p> | 2 | bar Peraḥ[i]a. Liliths, male and female lilith, the grabb[er] and the snatcher: |
| <p>תלתיכין וארבעתיכין וחמשיכין ערטיל שליחיתין [ו]לא לבישיתין סתר סעריכין ורמי</p> | 3 | the three of you, and the four of you, and the five of you. You are stripped naked [and] are not clothed, your hair is dishevelled and cast |
| <p>לאחור גביכין שמע עליכין דאבוכין פלחם שמה ואימכ[ין] [פ]ל[חדד ליליתא] פוקי מן ב[ית]ה ומן</p> | 4 | behind your back. It was heard concerning you, that your father's name is Palḥas and yo[ur] mother is [the lilith Pa]l[ḥadad]. Go out from the ho[use] and from |
| <p>פגרה ומן דירתה {ש} דמתישו בת בתסהדי שמיע עליכין דשלח עליכין בשמתא דשלח עליכין רבי</p> | 5 | the body and from the dwelling of Mat-Yišu daughter of Bat-Sahde. It was heard concerning you that one sent against you with the ban that Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia |
| <p>יהושע בר פרחיא אומיתי עליכין ביקרא דאבוכין וביקרא דאימכין בשו[ם] פלחם אבוכין [בשו[ם] פלחדד אימכין גיטה נחת</p> | 6 | sent against you. I have adjured you by the honour of your father and by the honour of your mother, by the nam[e of Palḥas your father and] by the name of Palḥadad your mother. A deed of divorce has descended |
| <p>לנא מן עיבר שמיא ואשתכח כתיב בה לא שמיכין ולא דוכרנכין ב[ש]מיה דפלסא פליסא יהב ליכי גיטיכי ופסיוריכי גיטיכין</p> | 7 | to us from across heaven, and there was found written in it neither your name nor your remembrance. By the [na]me of Palsa Pelisa (who) gives to you your deeds of divorce and your (writs of) release, your deeds of divorce |
| <p>ופסיוריכין דאנתי שלניתא בשמתא (דשלח) עליכין רבי יהושע בר פרחיא והוכי אמר לנא רבי יהושע בר פרחיא [גיטה אתא] לנא מן עיבר ימא</p> | 8 | and your (writs of) release, that is you, the grabber, by the ban (that) Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia (sent) against you. And thus Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia said to us: A de[ed of divorce has come] to us from across the sea, |

3. 'rtyl šlyhytyn: See the note to JBA 15:4.

5. bšmt': See the note to JBA 19:8.

6–7. nḥt ln' mn 'ybr šmy': Elsewhere written nḥyt ln' mn šmy' (cf. JBA 15:6). The expression mn 'ybr "from across" in this context comes from the parallel phrase in l. 8.

7. P' šmykyn wl' dwkrnkyn: See the note to JBA 15:6.

yhb: The verb is understood as a defective spelling of the act. ptc. in accordance with yhyb in the parallels (cf. JBA 15:9 and JBA 19:10).

8. For the missing dšlh "that he sent", cf. JBA 19:10.

- 9 ואִישְׁתְּכֶם כְּתִיב בֵּה דַּבּוּכִין פִּלְחָס שְׁמִיה וְאִמִּיכִין פִּלְחָדָד
לִילִיתָא שְׁמִיעַ [לְנָא] מִן דְּזָכְרָן אֲבָהֵתְנָא קֹדְ[מַאי] דְּשְׁמִיעַ
[לְהוֹן ---] וְלָכִין שְׁמִיכִין and there was found written in it, that your father's
name is Palḥas and your mother is the lilith
Palḥadad. [We] heard fr[om] the memorandum of
our prim[eval] fathers that [they] heard [---] and
you have your name.
- 10 בְּשֵׁמִיה דְּזִרְנִיר גְּדָא בְּגָדָא שְׁמִיעַ וּפּוּקִי מִינָה מִן מַתְיִישׁוּ בַּת
בַּתְּסַהְדִּי וּמִן דְּרַכְתָּק בַּעֲלָה וְלֹא תִיִּתְחֹ[זִין] לָהּ לֹא בְּלִילִיָּה וְלֹא
[בִּימָמָא ---] אֲסִירָתָּה By the name of **zrnyr gd' bgd'**. Listen and go out
from Mat-Yišu daughter of Bat-Sahde and from
Drakhtaḡ, her husband. And do not appe[ar] to her,
neither by night nor [by day ---] You are bound
- 11 בַּאֲסוּרָה דְּאַסְרִיָּאל וְחַתְמֵיָּת בַּעֲזִיקְתָּיה דָּאל שְׁדִי וּבַעֲזִיקְתָּיה
דְּרַבִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ [בְּ] רִפְרָחִיָּא [---] by the bond of Asriel and sealed by the signet-ring of
El Shaddai and by the signet-ring of Rabbi Joshua
[ba]r Peraḥia [---]
- 12 אֲשַׁבְּעִית עֲלַי בְּאֹרֹךְ אַבְרָהָם בְּ[צוֹר] י[צֶ]חָק בְּשְׁדִי יַעֲקֹב בִּיָּה
שְׁמִי יַעֲקֹב X בִּיָּה שְׁמִי [---] לִיכִי I beswear you by the Light of Abraham, by [the
Ro]ck of I[s]aac, by Shaddai of Jacob, by
Yah-is-My-name of Jacob, by Yah-is-My-name [---]
you,
- 13 אֲנִתִּי לִילִי וְכָל שׁוֹם דְּאִיתִּי לִיכִי [דְּ] תִּסְבִּין מִינָה מִן מַתְיִישׁוּ בַּת
בַּתְּסַהְדִּי גִיטִּיכִי וְגַט פ[י]טְ[וּרְכִי] וְאֲגַרְתָּ שִׁבּוּכִי וְסַפֵּר
תִּזְכֹּכְכִי כְּדַת --- יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּנֵת מֹשֶׁה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל you, Lili, and any name that you have, [that] you
shall take from Mat-Yišu daughter of Bat-Sahde your
deed of divorce and [your] deed of r[e]le[ase] and
your letter of dismissal and] yo[ur document of]
divorce [according to the law of --- Isra]el, the
daughters of Moses and Israel.

9. See the note to JBA 19:12; there does not appear to be sufficient room for **mn rgy° lkyn dwkrnkyn** or the like.

10. **zrnyr gd' bgd'**: See the note to JBA 15:9.

12. See the note to JBA 15:11–12.

13. The text is very unclear, but it appears that the scribe may have conflated the common expressions **kdt mšh wyšr'l** “according to the law of Moses and Israel” and **kdt bnt yšr'l** “according to the law of the daughters of Israel”.



JBA 24 (MS 2053/251)

300×150 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. Much of the text has suffered from fading or flaking of the surface of the bowl. The text is surrounded by a circle.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Parts of the first three lines are in Rabbinic Hebrew. Note the rel. pron. **šh**- rather than **š**- (three times in l. 1); note also the use of final *ʾaleph* rather than *he* in **pšwṭ** (ll. 1 and 2) and **hw** (l. 3); the loss of *ʾayin* is apparent in **mšbdwt** for **mšwʿbdwt** (l. 1).

Clients: Bahmandad son of Magita; [---]ta daughter of Immi, his wife.

Image: There appears to have been a drawing in the centre, within a circle, but it is almost completely erased.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>אנתי הי אפרודיטי שהכל נשים ושהכל מן[ראות] לך[י] --- מ[שבדות] לך ושהכל ברושן[ת] ש[פ]חזת [משבדות] לך א[שב]עי[ת] ע[ל]יכי [ל]י[ת]א [---] ב[ק]לע פשוטא ובחרב</p> | <p>1 You are Aphrodite, (to) whom all women and to whom all are dis[played ---] to [--- are] enslaved, and [to] whom all are legitimate[ly enslaved] (as) maid[ser]vants. I [be]swea[r you], lilit [---] with a straight [s]ling and with a sword</p> |
| <p>בפומה בקלע בפומה ובחרב פשוטא {ב} אשבע[ית] על[י]כ[י] ליליתא דיכרא וניקבתא ב[צ]דקי [---] ושלל[ת] וירא[י] ליה לבהמנד[ד] בר מגיטא ול[---]תא ב[ת]</p> | <p>2 in her mouth, with a sling in her mouth, and with a straight sword. [I] beswear yo[u], lilit, male and female, by [Ši]dqi [---] and that [you should] not show yourself to Bahmanda[d] son of Magita and to [---]ta daug[hter of]</p> |
| <p>אמי[א]ינ[ת]תיה בידמותאדם וחוא בין ביממא (ובין בלילה) ואם ישינת[י] בכל מקום וחתום עליכי [צידקי] מלך צידקימלך כפתניון לכיפ[י] ארעה ואסרתינ[י]ון לרוי רקיעא כבשתינ[י] ליתהומי ת[---]</p> | <p>3 Immi, his [w]i[f]e, in the form of Adam and Eve, whether by day (or by night), and if [I] sleep in any place. And sealed against you is [Šidqi]melekh, Šidqimelekh. I have tied up the rock[s of the earth and I have bound] the mysteries of the sky. I have subdued the l[ower] abysses.</p> |
| <p>כפתניון אסרתינ[י]ון וכבשתינ[י]ון לכל שידי ופתכ[רי] ולייתא ומב[כלתא] דישרן בגו ביתיה דבהמנד בר מ[גיטא] [---] אס[ק]ופת ביתה ד[---]תא בת אמי[א]ינ[ת]תיה ב[י]</p> | <p>4 I have tied up, bound and subdued all demons and idol spi[rits and] lilit[is] and <i>meva</i>[kkalta demons] who reside within the house of Bahmandad son of Ma[gita ---] the thre[sh]old of the house of [---]ta daughter of Immi, his [w]i[f]e, whether</p> |

1. For the relative pronoun **šh**-, see Fassberg 1996.

2. **bpwmh**: “in her mouth”; the expected reading is **kpwp h** “bent” (e.g. MS 2053/229:21–22 and Wolfe 15:7), which contrasts well with **pšwṭ** “straight”. The abrupt use of Aramaic in an otherwise Hebrew context suggests that the present reading is secondary.

3. **bydmwt ʾdm whw**: “in the form of Adam and Eve”; the expected reading is something like **bydmwt bnt hw** “in the form of the daughters of Eve” (e.g. M 3:4), although the longer **bydmwt bnt ʾdm whw** “in the form of the daughters of Adam and Eve” is also possible (cf. Wolfe 15:8).

yšnty: “I sleep”; cf. **yšnty** in JNF 286, which also names two clients. The reading **yšnym** “they sleep” (for **yšynym** or **yšnym**) is also possible but is otherwise unattested. If the reading is correct, the spelling with *yodh* is incongruent with Philippi’s law.

thwmy t[---]: “the l[ower] abysses”; cf. **thwmy t[---]h** in AMB Bowl 5:2–3 (revised reading). In the present text, there is not enough space for the reading **t[---]h**; the text presumably contained a shorter form of the same word.

4. **kptynwn**: See the note to JBA 23:1.

- 5 דָּכַר וּבִין נִקְבָּא [מִרְבַּר] בִּיהוּן [וְ] עָ[ד] דְּדָקִיחוֹן מִעוּ[ו] לִימִיחוֹן
וְעָ[ד] סְבָתָהוֹן בִּין דִּידְעָנָא שְׁמִיהּ וּבִין דְּלֹא יִדְעָנָא שְׁמִיהּ דְּלֹא
יִדְעָ[נָא] שְׁמִי[הּ] כְּבָר פְּרִישׁוֹ לִי מִ[שִׁבְעָא יוֹמִי] בְּרִשִׁית
וּדְלֹא
- 6 [פ]ר[ישו לי מיש]ב[עא יו]מי ברשית כבר פרישו לי בגיטא
דאתא לנא מן עיבר ימא דיכתבו ושדרו ליה לרבי יהו[ו]שו[ע]
בר פרח[יא] --- מ[נו]קא ביבני
- 7 אֲנִישָׁא שָׁדַר עֲלָהּ רַבִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בַּר פֶּרָחִיא [חִיא] שְׁמָתָא וּלְ[א]
קְבִילַת מִיחֻמַּת דְּלֹא הוּא יִדְעָא שְׁמִיהּ וִיכְתְּבוּ שְׁמִיהּ בְּגִטָּא
וְאִכְרִיזוּ עָלֶיהָ בְּרִקְיָ[ע] בְּגִטָּא דֹּאֲתָא לָנָא מִן עִיבָר יִמָּא וְאִף
אֲתוֹן
- 8 חומרי בישתא חומרי זידנ[י]תא חומרי דיכרי וניקבתא
ואיסתרתא כולהין וליליתא כולהין ומבכלתא כולהין ופתכרי
כולה[ו]ן וזכיא ורודק כלהון --- מן ביתיה ומן
- 9 דִּירְתִּיהּ דְּבַהֲמַנְדָּד בְּרִי מַגִּיתָ[א] כְּ[ע] [א] סִירָ[י] תִּחוֹן וְחִתְמִיתוֹן
וּמְחַתְמִיתוֹן תַּחַת כְּפוֹת רִיגְלִיהּ דְּבַהֲמַנְדָּד בְּרִי מַגִּיתָ[א] בְּשׁוֹם
גַּבְרִיאֵל גִּיבֵר תַּקִּיף דְּקָטִיל כּוֹל גִּיבְרִיא כּוֹלָהוֹן דְּנִצְחִין בִּיקְרָבָא
וּבְשׁוֹם
- 10 יְהוֹאֵל מֵאֵב דְּסִתִּים פּוֹס {פּוֹס} כָּל גִּי[ב]רָ[י]א כּוֹלָהוֹן וּבְשׁוֹם יְה
יְהוֹה אֱהִיָּה צְבָאוֹת אֲמֵן אֲמֵן סֵלָה וְאִף אֵת דִּישְׁרֵי בֵּיתָא
הָדִין אִו זְכִיא אֵת אִו וְרֹדֵק אֵת אִו --- אִו סִטְנָא אִו דִּיוֹא אִו
- male or female, [from] their [adu]lts [and] t[o] their
children, from their y[o]ung ones and t[o] their old
ones, whether I know his name or I do not know his
name. The one who[se] name [I] do not know they
already specified to [me from] the seven day[s] of
creation, and the one that they did not]
- [sp]ec[ify to me from the se]v[en da]ys of creation
they already specified to me in the deed of divorce
that has come to us from across the sea, which they
wrote and sent to Rabbi J[o]shu[a] bar Pera[h]ia ---]
h[ar]ms human
- beings, Rabbi Joshua bar Pera[h]ia sent against her a
ban, but she did no[t] accept (it) because she did
not know his name, and (so) they wrote his name in
the deed of divorce and they made a proclamation
concerning her in the sk[y], in the deed of divorce
that has come to us from across the sea, and (so)
also you,
- evil amulet spirits, wicked amulet spirits, male and
female amulet spirits, and all female spirits, and all
liliths, and all *mevakkalta* demons, and all idol
spirits, and every *zakya* (and) *worodaq* [---] from the
house and from
- the dwelling of Bahmandad son of Magit[a]. N[o]w,
you are [bo]und and sealed and double sealed under
the soles of the feet of Bahmandad son of Magita. By
the name of Gabriel, the mighty hero, who kills all
heroes, all those who are victorious in battle. And by
the name of
- Yehoel m'b, who closes up the mouth of all
he[r]o[es]. And by the name of Yah Yah YHWH "I am"
Sabaoth. Amen, Amen, Selah. And also you, who
dwells in this house, whether you are *zakya* or you
are *worodaq*, whether [---] or a satan, or a *dēv*, or

5. *ddqyhwn*: See the note to JBA 23:2.

sbthwn: "their old ones"; the use of the fem. is unexpected (cf. *sbyhwn* in AMB Bowl 5:4).

6. Cf. JBA 23:4.

7. *myhmt dl' hw' yd' smyh*: "because she did not know his name"; cf. JNF 192:8, which reads *mhmt dl' hw' yd'h smyh wkld yd't smyh qbylt* "because she did not know his name, but, when she came to know his name, she accepted (it)". In other parallels (e.g. AMB Bowl 5:6), it is Joshua bar Pera[h]ia who did not know the name of the lilith and thus did not write it in the ban, thereby invalidating it. For the use of the 3 p. masc. sg. verb *hw'* (for *hwh*) with a fem. subject, cf. Kutscher 1970–1971.

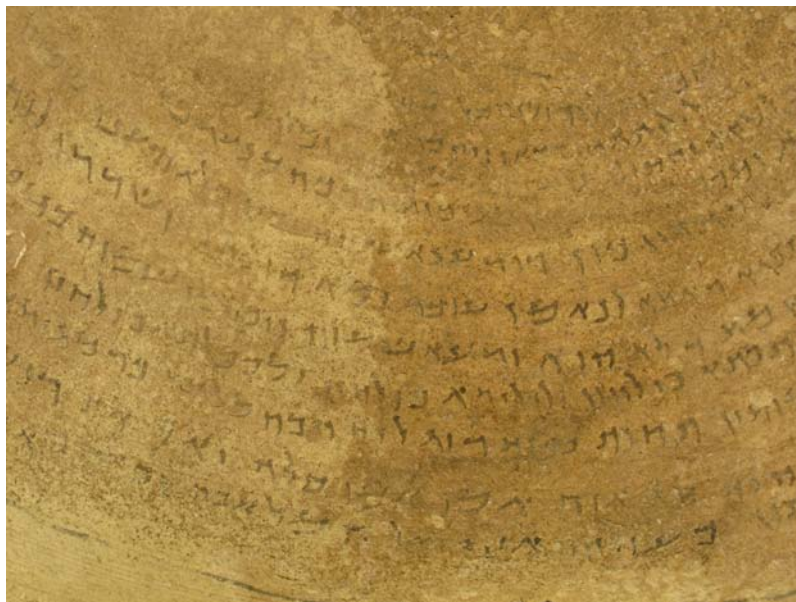
10. The scribe appears to have interrupted the phrase *yhwsh sb'wt* with part of Ex 3:14, used as a magic name.

- ליליתא או מבכלתא או חומרתא או איתרא אסיריתון 11 a lilith, or a *mevakkalta* demon, or an amulet spirit,
 וחתימיתון בעיזקת אסריאל {ה} מלאכה ובשום אוכטיניס או
 ביר ומרור אמן אמן סלה שריר וקיס לעולמי עולמים אסותא
 תיהוי לביתא הדין ויתסי [ברח] מי שמי[א] 12 healing for this house, and may it be healed [by the
 mer]cy of heav[en].

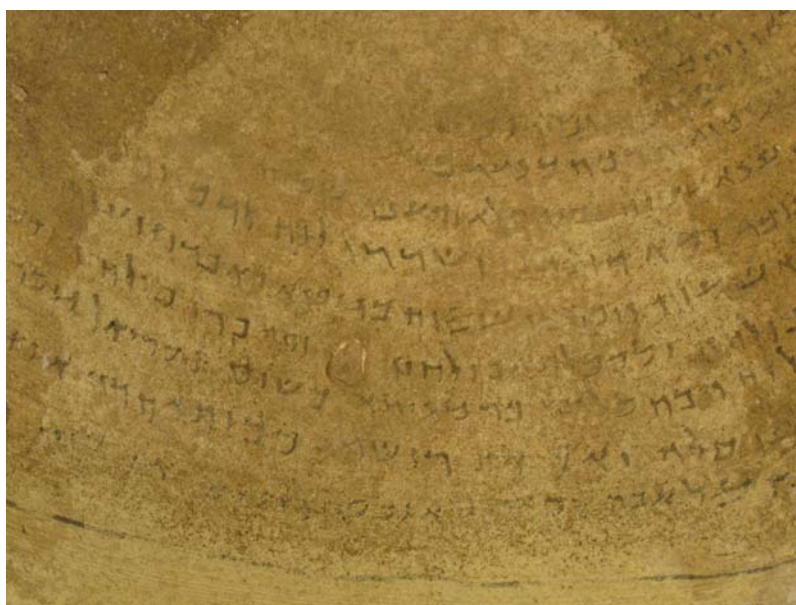
ⁿ. It appears that the scribe began to write **hml'k**, but then wrote **ml'kh** instead.
 The transcription of the *nomina barbara* is uncertain.



JBA 25 (MS 2053/280)—general view



JBA 25 (MS 2053/280)—section one



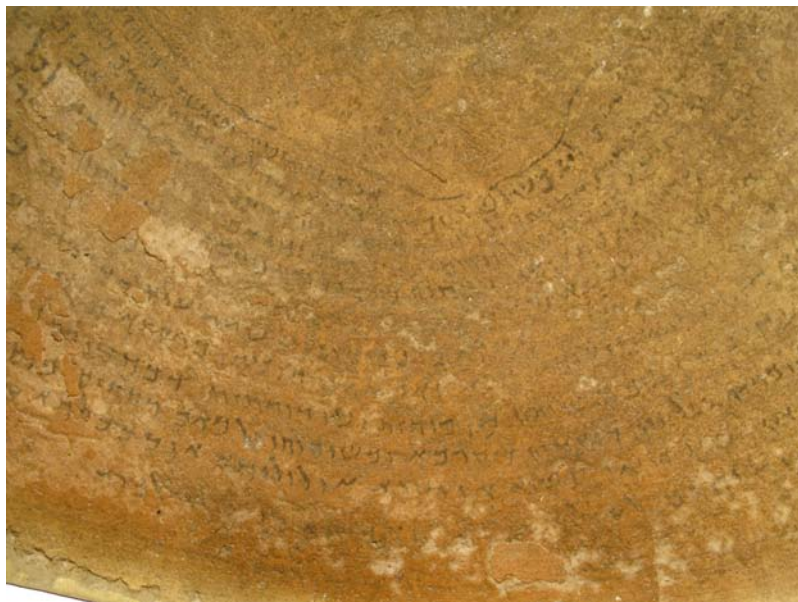
JBA 25 (MS 2053/280)—section two



JBA 25 (MS 2053/280)—section three



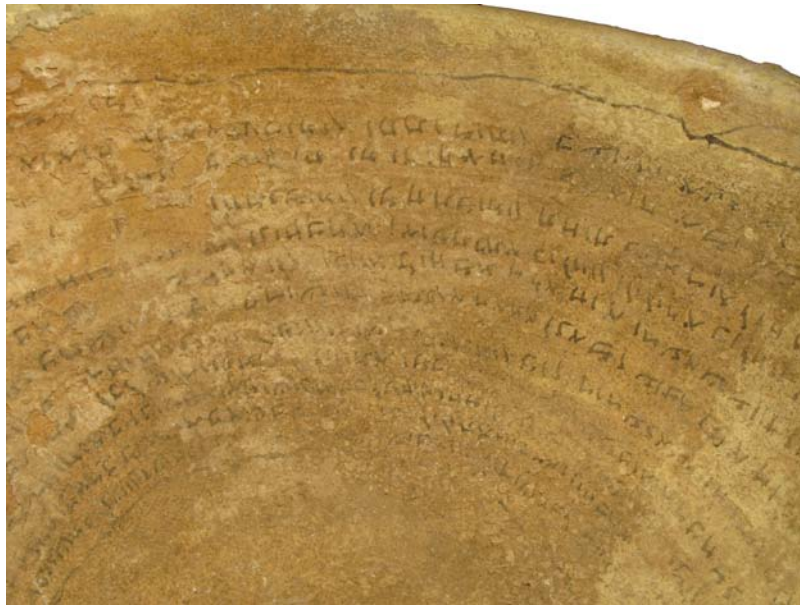
JBA 25 (MS 2053/280)—section four



JBA 25 (MS 2053/280)—section five



JBA 25 (MS 2053/280)—section six



JBA 25 (MS 2053/280)—section seven

I.2.1.1

DIVORCE TEXTS

Joshua bar Peraḥia (with Magical Excommunication rather than Divorce)

INTRODUCTION

In the texts in the previous section, Joshua bar Peraḥia appears as the initiator of a magical divorce, but some of the texts also mention a *šmt* ‘ban, excommunication’ that he sent against demons (JBA 15:8, JBA 19:8, JBA 24:8). JBA 26 refers to Joshua bar Peraḥia as the initiator of the latter legal procedure appropriated for magical purposes. It has therefore been appended to I.2.1 even though it makes no mention of divorce.

It is interesting that, in JBA 26:2–4, the figure of Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia is accompanied by the demonic authorities Ashmedai, the king of demons, Rav Agzar bar Dibšata, Ram Šad, the king of demons, and Rav Joseph Šeda (cf. JBA 15:2–3).

160 × 60 mm. Crude semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. At the end of line 3 there is a cross—it is not clear whether this is a line filler or a religious symbol. In line 5, just before what appears to be the start of a new spell, there is a schematic drawing that is hard to interpret. The lines are written in concentric circles rather than a spiral and are separated from each other by solid circles. Such a way of writing does not normally make a continuous text, but in this case we do have continuity from one line to the next.

Client: Abudimme son of Daday.

Image: In the centre of the bowl there is a frontal, female hybrid figure that seems to be standing, although her legs are almost ninety degrees to her torso. She has long, straight hair, which falls as four lines on each side of her body down to her waist. There are three features that make her a hybrid—there is a tail behind her waist, her face has feline attributes with whiskers below the nose, and her palms have curved fingers. There is a round spot below her waist, perhaps symbolising female genitals. Her feet are drawn as a round line with short stripes for toes. The eyes are round and black and there are round ears on both sides of her head. The hands are crossed over the neck, which seems to be bound. They are decorated with short stripes along them. The left hand is holding an object—maybe flowers but it is not clear.

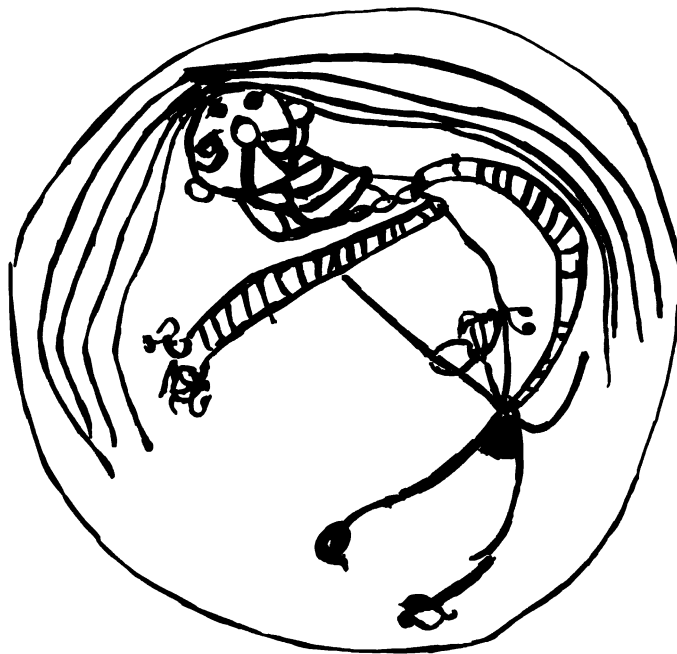


Fig. 9: Artist's impression of image from JBA 26.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>אסותא מן שמה לביתה איתתיה בניה וקינינה דאבדימי בר דדי חתים ומחתם בעיזקתא</p> | 1 | <p>Healing from heaven for the house, wife, children and property of Ab(u)dimme son of Daday. Sealed and double sealed by the signet-ring</p> |
| <p>דיהוה צבאות ראזא כיסי הדא חד ראזא וחד דגו עלכי רבי יהושע בן פרחא קבלת שמתא דתשמתי ותהון</p> | 2 | <p>of YHWH Sabaoth, a hidden mystery. This is a mystery and a (decree) that Rabbi Joshua ben Perah(i)a decreed against you. You have received the ban in order that you shall be banned. And may you be</p> |
| <p>בשמתא דרבי יהושע בר פרחא ותיהוי בשמתא בישמיה דאשמדי מלכא דשדי ותיהוי בשמתא בישמיה דרב אגור +</p> | 3 | <p>under the ban of Rabbi Joshua bar Perah(i)a. And may you be under the ban by the name of Ashmedai, the king of demons. And may you be under the ban by the name of Rav Agzar +</p> |
| <p>בר דיבשאתא ותיהוי בשמתא בישמיה דרם שד מלכא דשדי ותיהוי בשמתא דרב יוסף שדא ותיהוי בשמתא דכל שדי וחשיכי</p> | 4 | <p>bar Dibšata. And may you be under the ban by the name of Ram Šad, the king of demons. And may you be under the ban of Rav Joseph Šeda. And may you be under the ban of all demons and dark ones</p> |
| <p>דאית בבביל חתימא ומחתמא אסקופתי דילי אבודימי בר דד בישר שירא בזיה זיוא בעיזקתא דזריר זיוא בר אבי מן שדין</p> | 5 | <p>that are in Babylonia. Sealed and double sealed is my threshold, mine, Abudimme son of Dad(ay), by a rope, by <i>zyh zyw'</i>, by the signet-ring of Zarir Ziwa son of Abay, from demons,</p> |
| <p>ומן דוין כולהן מן שעהון לאבודימי בר דדי מן דמיהון שקלית לחתמהון ומן גלדהון שקלית לרקאה בהון שב[ע] שב[ע] לקיט בסוסיתיה</p> | 6 | <p>and from <i>dēvs</i>, all of them. Some of their hair for Abudimme son of Daday, some of their blood I have taken for sealing them; and some of their skin I have taken for patching them; seve[n] times seven it is seized by its tufts of hair.</p> |

1. *bdymy*: Defective for *'bwdymy* (cf. ll. 5 and 6), which is a phonetic spelling of *'bwh-d-'ymyh* "father of his mother"; for names of this type, see Ford 2012.

2. *whd*: There is a blot of ink after the word, possibly an erasure. It appears that the scribe omitted the following noun.

gz: For *gzr* "decreed". For the loss of final *reš* in JBA, see Morgenstern 2007, 259–260.

tšmty: "you shall be banned"; an assimilated *itpa*. form. For such forms in I-sibilant verbs, see Morgenstern 2007, 272–274, and Ford 2011, 270. The final *nun* of this 2 p. fem. sg. impf. has been elided. The same elision happens five times with *tyhwy* (ll. 3–4), but not with the immediately following *thwn* "may you be".

3. *drby*: The final letter resembles a *dalet* or *reš*, but it is more likely to be an eccentric *yodh*. The following letter, another *yodh*, is also poorly written.

4. *hyšyky*: "dark ones"; perhaps "evildoers" (see *DJBA*, 487, s.v. *hšyk*). For the relationship of demons with darkness, see, for example, Montgomery 16:7–9 and AMB Bowl 13:9. The reading *hyšwby* "machinations, (evil) plans", based on Heb. *hyšwb* "(astronomical) calculation" (cf. Jastrow 1950, 460), is also possible.

5. *bbbyl*: The text is well preserved, but the interpretation of the final letter is difficult. The context suggests *lamed*, in which case the scribe appears to have forgotten to write the bottom half of the letter, but *bbbyn* and *bbbyy* are also possible, perhaps indicating an interchange between *lamed* and *nun* or a loss of final *lamed*, both well attested in JBA. It is also possible that the final letter is part of the drawing. For the presence of demons in Babylonia, cf. JNF 12:2–3.

byšr šyr bzyh zyw': "by a rope, by *zyh zyw'*". The usual form is *bšyr šyr bzym zymr* "by a rope, by a chain"; cf. the introduction and notes to MS 2053/47, which the present text resembles in three respects. Cf. also JNF 171:1–2.

zryr: The usual form of the name is *ywkbr* (cf. MS 1927/10:5). The reading here is unclear but, if correct, may result from a conflation with a form of the name *zrzy'yl*, which is well known from Mandaic magical texts; cf. MS 2053/129:4, JNF 88:2, JNF 171:1–2, and JNF 210:7.

6. The present text seems to contain a corrupted version of a well established spell (cf. MS 1927/10:6–7).

lq'lh: Perhaps a phonetic spelling of *lq'lh* "to patch", but the expression remains obscure; we would expect something like *lqwmymyhn* "for marking them" or the like (cf. MS 1927/10:6).

lqyt: Phonetic variant of *nqyt*.

swsytyh: A phonetic spelling of *šwsytyh* (cf. MS 1927/10:7).



JBA 26 (MS 1928/43)

I.2.2

DIVORCE TEXTS

Elisur Bagdana

INTRODUCTION

Aside from JBA 35 (which is discussed at the end of this introduction), the figure of Elisur Bagdana features prominently in the introductions to the texts in this section—for a discussion of the deity Bagdana, see Shaked 1985. Other common features include the lilith Ḥablas (variants: Ḥabṭas, Ḥalbas, Ḥalbat), granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay, the lance of the mighty Qitaros (or Siqaros), and the ineffable name that was carved on the signet-ring of Solomon from the six days of creation. The person of Joshua bar Peraḥia (see I.2.1) occurs in JBA 27, JBA 31, JBA 32 and JBA 42.

The lilith is said to attack boys and girls, e.g. **wmḥy' wṭrp' drdqy wdrdqṭ'** “and strikes and smites boys and girls” (JBA 39:4–5; cf. JBA 37:6, JBA 43:5–6, JBA 47:4–5). The nouns appear in various forms: **d'dqy wd'dqth** (JBA 38:3), **d'rdqy wd'rdqṭ'** (JBA 46:5), **drdqy wdrdqwnyt'** (JBA 34:6), **drdrqy wdrdqṭ'** (JBA 30:10) and **drṭqy wdrṭqṭ'** (JBA 27:4, JBA 31:4; cf. JBA 42:4). The forms with *ayin*, or with the emphatic *ṭet* instead of the expected *dalet* or *taw*, are noteworthy—cf. *DJBA*, 350–351, and Ford 2012. Similarly, in the next sentence, which states that the lilith should be struck in the pericardium, there is yet more variation: **ṭwpls lblbky** (JBA 36:4), **ṭwpls lyblbyky** (JBA 28:4, JBA 29:5–6, JBA 33:4, JBA 37:6, JBA 43:6, JBA 47:5), **ṭwprs dlylbky** (JBA 27:5, JBA 31:5, JBA 32:6–7, JBA 42:4), **ṭwprs lybky** (JBA 38:4, JBA 45:3), **ṭwprs lylbky** (JBA 40:2, JBA 46:5), **ṭwprs lylbky** (JBA 34:7, JBA 35:11), **ṭrpsy lybbyky** (JBA 30:10); cf. *DJBA*, 499.

The texts in this section make use of the divorce device for causing the demons to depart from the house of the clients, specifying that this is the way that demons divorce their own wives. This is followed by **wṭwb l' hdyrn 'lyhwn** (or **'lyhyn**) “and they (masc.) do not come back again unto them (masc. or fem.)” (see also JBA 14:3). This seems to indicate that the male demons do not come back to their divorced wives (if we read **'lyhyn**). On the other hand, there are two cases (JBA 38:6 and JBA 45:5) in which the reading is **hdyrn**, which allows the translation “and they (fem.) do not come back”.

Epstein 1922, 47–48, seems to suggest a translation to the effect that “they (masc.) do not change their mind”, assuming an idiomatic usage **hdyr l'**-like **hdyr b'**- (cf. *DJBA*, 365, on **hdyr b'**- “to retract, renege”). Levine 1970, 350–351, rejects Epstein's interpretation and suggests that the intention of the original clause might have been that “the wives do not return to their husbands once divorced, but that the precise sense of this was misunderstood or confused”. This would mean that **hdyrn 'lyhwn** would be the original wording of the phrase and **hdyrn 'lyhyn** a subsequent corruption. Shaked 1999a, 185 n. 52, followed Levine's suggestion.

Ford has recently discovered a variant text (JNF 143) that reads **km' dktbyn šydyn gyṭ' wyhbryn lynšyhn wṭwb l' hdyrn 'lyhn wmwtyb[y]n ythyn** “just as demons write a deed of divorce and give (it) to their wives and they (masc.) do not come back again unto them (fem.) and reinstate them (fem.)”. In view of this, it may be assumed that the original phrase had the male demons as the subject of **hdyrn**, and **hdyrn** should be interpreted as a defective spelling. Note that the **'lyhwn/'lyhyn** element does not occur in JBA 29, JBA 36, JBA 38, JBA 41, JBA 43, JBA 45, JBA 46 and JBA 47.

A grammatical incongruity recurs with the fem. **'yzqṭ'** being resumed by the masc. pron. suffix in the expression **b'yzqṭ' dšyr glyp 'lhy** “by the signet-ring on which (the ineffable name) is drawn (and) carved” (e.g. JBA 34:12–13; cf. JBA 46:9, which has the correct **'lh**).

The incantations regularly use a series of three verbs (QDḤ, NPQ, 'RQ) to expel the demon, e.g. **wqdḥy wṭwqy w'rqy** “and flee and go out and take flight” (JBA 31:7). One common variation is the use of 'QR for 'RQ, e.g. **wqdḥy w'yqwry wṭwqy** “and flee and be annulled and go out” (JBA 33:6). It is possible that one form originated from the other as a scribal error, but it is not possible to determine which is original. On the other hand, both verbs occur in JBA 40:4. For a discussion of QDḤ, see Naveh and Shaked 1985, 183–184.

Thirteen bowls end with a reference to the “(signet-ring) on which the ineffable name is drawn (and) carved, from the six days of creation” (e.g. JBA 29:9). In five cases, there is an extra clause: **sdwr ʿlmh kwlyh mšyšt ymy brʿyt** “the arrangement of the whole world, from the six days of creation” (e.g. JBA 31:9). Both Montgomery 11:9 and Montgomery 18:11 also contain an extra clause, which was read as **mn ywmy ʿlm** “from the days of the world”. This could suggest that the longer reading is more original and that the second clause is explicative: “from the arrangement of the world, (that is) from the six days of creation”.

The following bowls were probably written by the same scribe for Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh and her husband Gundas(p) or Undas son of Rašewandukh: JBA 29, JBA 39, JBA 41 and JBA 47.

Similarly, it appears that the following bowls are duplicates written by the same scribe for Bar-Sahde son of Aḥata, and for his wife Aywi (or, perhaps, Iwi?), whose name appears to vary across the bowls: JBA 27 (ʿyywy), JBA 31 (ʿywʿ), JBA 32 (ʿyywʿy) and JBA 42 (ʿyywy). This scribe used the same pattern of magic characters in JBA 27, JBA 31 and JBA 42. These bowls have two distinctive readings in common, both of which are problematic.

The first relates to the second adjuration in the text, which usually reads something like **ʿšbʿyt ʿlyky dtymḥyn bṛpsy lybbyky** “I beswear you in order that you should be struck in your pericardium” (JBA 30:10). Instead of **dtymḥyn**, however, these bowls read **dʿytmḥn** (JBA 27:5, JBA 31:5, JBA 32:6, JBA 42:4), which could be a simple error on the part of this one scribe. On the other hand, it could be a textual corruption precipitated by the assimilation of the original *taw* of the 2 p. fem. sg. prefix to the *dalet* of the preceding subordinating particle—for examples of such assimilations, see Ford 2012. It is also possible that the scribe understood what he wrote as an imperative, with the preceding *dalet* serving to introduce a direct quotation: “Be struck ...!”. If this was the case, the final *nun* could either be an hitherto unattested termination for the fem. sg. impv. of a III-y verb, or a relic from the verb’s previous incarnation as an imperfect. Cf. the impv. **d-ʿtmhibh** in the parallel context in the Mandaic bowl CAMIB 99M:7. In the following edition of these texts, this phrase is translated according to the majority reading **dtymḥyn**. Many bowls read **tymḥyny** with an unexpected final *yodh* (e.g. JBA 28:4 and JBA 29:5). It is possible that the scribe took the *nun* of the 2 p. fem. sg. suffix as a root consonant and then added a redundant 2 p. fem. sg. suffix *-ī*.

The second problematic reading is found in the final part of the text, which usually reads something like **bʿyzqtyh dšyr glyp ʿlyh šm mpwrš** “by his signet-ring on which the ineffable name is drawn (and) carved” (JBA 30:13). The four bowls in this group read **bʿyzqtʿ dyn wrqylʿ ʿl šwm mprš** (JBA 27:9, JBA 31:9, JBA 32:11, JBA 42:8), which, again, defies translation and is thus translated according to the majority reading.

Finally, JBA 28, JBA 33 and JBA 43 were also probably written by the same scribe, for the same client and with similar texts. Unfortunately, JBA 28 is very faded, particularly in the centre, so the reference to Elisur Bagdana is not preserved. It is still placed in this chapter, however, as it clearly is a member of this class of text.

JBA 35:3–4 refers to the “deed of divorce that came from the great Alexandria of Egypt, the certificate that went forth by the hand of Yoḥana and Mamre” (cf. JNF 23:6–7). This is a reference to Jannes and Jambres, the infamous Egyptian magicians who attempted to conjure victory for the Egyptians against Moses and the Israelites (cf. 2 Tim 3:8, TPs-J to Ex 11:5; 7:11; BT Men 85a). This bowl mentions Elisur Bagdana towards the end of its inscription (l. 9). What follows appears to correspond to the other Elisur Bagdana bowls, but the remaining lines are badly faded.

Parallels for this formula, outside the Schøyen Collection, include: CAMIB 13A; Montgomery 11 and Montgomery 18; Gordon G, IM 9737 and IM 11113; M-K 12, M-K 12a and M-K 13. There are also several Mandaic parallels—Lidzbarski V (see Shaked 1999a, 184); CAMIB 98M and CAMIB 99M, perhaps also CAMIB 100M.

Other spells that occur in the bowls in this section:

Šakobit the Sleeper, daughter of ʿasat—JBA 47:10; cf. Shaked 2005a, MS 1927/9
The Seventh Sheol—JBA 44:9; cf. Geller B:13 and Montgomery 6:11–12
Yoḥana and Mamre—JBA 35:3; cf. JNF 23

145 × 60 mm. Semi-formal hand. The writing is partly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle.

There is a set of eight magic characters (l. 10).

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of *ṭet*, instead of the more common *dalet* or *taw*, in **ḏṛṭqy wḏṛṭqṭ** (l. 4); the form of the 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. with *yodh* in **ḥṭymty** (l. 9) is noteworthy (see Juusola 1999, 80).

Clients: Bar-Sahde son of Aḥata; Aywi (?), his wife.

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1 | [ק] בִּילִי שְׁמַתָּא מִן שְׁמַא דִּיהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן פְּרַחִיא לְשֵׁם אֲנִי עוֹשֶׂה אֱלִיסוּר | [Ac]cept the ban from the name of Joshua ba[r] Perahia. By [your] [name] I [act. Elisur] |
| 2 | [ב] גִּדְנָא מַלְכֵּהוֹן דְּשִׁידִי וְדִיּוּי שְׁלִיטָא [ר]ב א [ד] לִילִיתָא מִן וּמִנָּא וּמִשְׁבַּענָא | [Ba]gda[n]a, the king of demons and <i>dēvs</i> , the [gre]at ruler of [liliths]. I ad[jure] and bes[wear] |
| 3 | [ע] לְכִי חֲלַבְתָּ לִי לִיתָא בֵּת בִּרְתָּה דְּרִנִּי לִילִיתָא [ד] שֶׁרִי אִיהָ עַל אִסְכּוּפַת בֵּיתִי אִיהָ | [y]o[u], the [li]lith [Ḥalbat], granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay, [who resi]des upon the threshold of the house |
| 4 | דְּבַרְסַּהְדִּי בֶר אַחְתָּא --- אִיתְתִּיהָ וּמִחִיא [ו]טְרַפָּא וּקְטִלָּא דְּרַסְקִי וּדְרַטְקָא | of Bar-Sahde son of Aḥa[ta ---] his wife, and strikes [and smites and k]ills boys and girls. |
| 5 | מוֹמְנָא וּמִשְׁבַּענָא עֲלֵיךְ דְּאִיתְמַח [ו] ב [טוּפ] רִסְ דְּלִי ב [כ] י וּבְמִוְרָנִי תָא דְּסִיקְרוֹס גִּבְרָא | I adjure and beswear you in order that you should be struc[k] (!) in [yo]ur [pe]ricard[i]um and by the lan[c]e of the mighty Siqaros |
| 6 | דְּהוּא שְׁלִיט עַל דִּיּוּן וְעַל שִׁידִין וְעַל לְטַבִּין ה [א] כְּתִבְתִּי לִי [כ] י וְהָא פְטִרִית [י] תִי כִי כְמָא דְכַתְבִּין | who is ruler over <i>dēvs</i> and over demons and over no-good ones. Beh[old], I write to [y]ou, and behold, I release you, just as demons |
| 7 | שִׁידִי גִטִּי לְנִשְׁיָהוֹן וְתוֹב לֹא הִדְרִין עֲלֵיהֶן שְׁקוּלִי גִטִּי [כ] י וּקְבִלִי מוֹמְתִי וּקְדִי [ד] חִי [וּפו] קִי וְעֲרִקִי | write deeds of divorce to their wives and they do not come back again unto them. Take [your] deed of divorce and accept your adjuration and f[lee] [and go] out and take flight |
| 8 | מִן בֵּיתָהּ וּמִן דְּרֵתָהּ וּמִן פְּגָרִי [ה] דְּבַרְסַּהְדִּי בֶר [א] חְתָּא וּמִן אִיּוּ אִיתְתִּיהָ בְּשׁוּם יֵה יֵה יֵה יֵה מִן מִן מִן | from the house and from the dwelling and from the body of Bar-Sahde son of [Aḥata and] from Aywi (?), his wife. By the name of Yah Yah Yah Yah <i>nomina barbara</i> |
| 9 | יֵט יֵט חֲתִי מִתִּי בְּעִזְקָתָא דִּין וְרִקִּילָא עַל שׁוֹם [מ] פֶּרֶשׁ רַבָּא סְדוּר עֲלֵמָא כּוּלִּיהָ מְשִׁישֶׁת יִמִּי בְּרַאשֵׁיתָא אָמֵן [א] מֵן | <i>nomina barbara</i> you [are] se[al]ed by the signet-ring on which the great [inef]fable name is drawn (and) carved, the arrangement of the whole world, from the six days of creation. Amen, [A]men, |
| 10 | סֵלָה --- קִיצִי צָב צִיתִין סַב סַמּוֹן סֵלָה (<i>magic characters</i>) אִיִּיִיִיִיִיִיִי כִּיף | Selah [---] <i>nomina barbara</i> Selah (<i>magic characters</i>) ʿYYYYYYYYY KYP |

9. See the introduction to I.2.2.

10. There is probably another set of magic characters at the start of the line (cf. JBA 42:9), but the writing is very faded at this point.



JBA 27 (MS 1927/16)

180 × 60 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The writing is faded in the centre. The text is surrounded by a circle.

Clients: Iyyob son of Mihranahid; Khusro son of Narsedukh; Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, nicknamed Kuṭus.

Biblical quotation: Ps 24:8.

| | | |
|---|----|--|
| [---] | 1 | [---] |
| [---] | 2 | [---] |
| על אִסְכָּךְ [ופת --- איוב בר מִיְהֲרָנְהִיד ---] | 3 | upon the thresh[old of ---] Iyyob son of Mihranahid [---] |
| [---] אֶטְרָפָא [---] דְּתִימְחִינִי [בטופלס ליב] לביכִי | 4 | [---] and smites [---] in order that you should be struck (!) [in] your [pericar]dium |
| [---] דְּ[---] דְּהוּא [שליט על --- ועל לילי] תֵּא הַכְּתִבִּית ליכִי והפֿ [טרית] יִתִּיכִי כִמְ[ה] דְּכְתָבִין | 5 | [---] of [---] who is [ruler over --- and over lili]ths. Behold, I write to you, and behold, [I] re[lease] you, jus[t] as de[mon]s |
| שְׁ[יד] יִגְטִי [לנשיהון ותוב] לֵאָּה [דרין ---] וְקִדְחִי [ו] עֵיקוֹן[רי] ופוקי מן ביתיה ו[מִן] דִּירתיא דְּכסרו | 6 | write deeds of divorce [to their wives and they do] not co[me back again ---] and flee [and] be annull[ed and go out from the house and] from the dwelling of Khusro |
| בר נרסִידוך וּמִן --- דְּמִיְהֲרָנְהִיד בת אח[ת] דְּמִיתְקָרָא [יא] כוּטוּס --- ו[לא] תִּיתַחֲזוּן להון לֵאָּה בְּחִילמָא [ד] לֵאָּה [י] לֵאָּה וְלֵאָּה בְּחִילמָא דיממא | 7 | son of Narsedukh and fr[om --- of Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat], who is call[ed Kuṭus --- and] do not appear to them, neither by dream [of] n[i]ght nor by dream of day, |
| ולא בשינתהון ו[לא] בעיליהון ולא במישכ[ב]הוֹן וְלֵאָּה בִּימְקוֹמְהוֹן [בש] וְסִימְתָּ [מת מ]ת מִן מִן אֲבִרְחָגִיה יִט יִט יִט טִטִּט זוז ססס דְּצִיר גִּלְיָף עִלוּהִי | 8 | and neither during their sleep n[or during their waking and neither when] they [lie do]wn nor when they get up. [By the na]me of <i>nomina barbara</i> on which the ineffable name |
| שם מפורש משישת יומי בראשית הללויה לשמך הללויה למלכותך צבִיר [ות צבירות] יוֹרְגָא יורבא צבירות צבירות יורבא יורגא אִמֵּן אִמֵּן סֵלָה חתים ומחתם | 9 | is drawn (and) carved, from the six days of creation. Hallelujah to your name. Hallelujah to your kingdom. <i>nomina barbara</i> Amen, Amen, Selah. Sealed and double sealed is |
| ביתה דְּמִיְהֲרָנְהִיד בת אחת דְּמִיתְקָרִיא כוּטוּס מן כל מידעם ביש דאית בעלמה בשום אבֹות קְדוּשָׁ בְּרֻכּוֹת קְדוּשָׁ גְדוּד[י] אֵל יה גיבור ויבשום דודיאל יה אִמֵּן אִמֵּן סֵלָה | 10 | the house of Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, who is called Kuṭus, from any evil thing that is in the world. By the name of the fathers of sanctification, the blessings of sanctification, Gedud[i]el, “Yah mighty (in battle)”, and by the name of Dudiel, Yah. Amen, Amen, Selah. |

10. bšwm ... slh: Cf. MS 2053/117:11 and MS 2053/262:11.

qdwš ... qdwš: Probably a defective spelling of qydwš ... qydwš.

yh gybwr: Possibly an abbreviated quotation from Ps 24:8.



JBA 28 (MS 1927/25)

180×50 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The writing is partly faded. The text is surrounded by a circle. Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of *lamed* instead of *reš* in **twpls** (l. 5) and **'lyhwn** (l. 8)—cf. JBA 15:11, JBA 47:5, 8.

Clients: Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh; Gundasp son of Rašewandukh.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>אסֹן־תא מן שמיא תיה־וי לה למהדוך</p> <p>בת ניונדוך [גו־]גֹדסֶף בר רשודוך</p> <p>אליסור בִּגְדָנָא מלכהון דשידי וְשִׁי לִיטָא רַבָּא [ד־]ליליתא</p> <p>אשבעית עלכי חבטס</p> <p>ליליתא בת ברתה דִּזְרַנִי ליליתא דשריא עֲלָא־סִכְנֹן־פִּתָּה</p> <p>[ב־]יתיה דגונדסֶף בר רשיונדוך</p> <p>וְעַל פִּתְחָה דמהדֹּךְ בֵּת [ניו־]דֹּךְ וּמַחֲיָא [---] דרדקי</p> <p>וּדְרַד־קָתָא אֶשְׁ[בַּע־]תְּ עֲלֵי דתימחיני בטופלס</p> <p>ליבלכי ויבמורניתיה דִּסְ[קרוס] גִּיבְרָא דְהוּא שְׁלִיט עַל---</p> <p>וְעַל דִּי וְעַל לִיִּיתָא הַכְּתָבִית לִיכִי הַפְּטָרִית יִתְכִי</p> <p>כִּמָּה דכתבין שידי גיטי לנשיהון ותוב־לָא הִדְרִין שְׁקוּלִי [גיטיכי</p> <p>וְקִבְלִי [מומתיכי וק־]דחי ועיקורי ופוקי מן ביתה ומן דירתה</p> <p>דמהדוך בת</p> <p>ניונדוך ומן פִּתְחָה ומן שורבתיה דגונדסֶף בר [רשיונדו־]ךְ</p> <p>אִנְתָּה [ת־]יָהּ וְלֹא תִיתְחַזֵּן לָהֶון לָא בחילמָה דליליה ודיממה ולא</p> <p>בשנתהון ולא בעיליהון ולא</p> <p>בְּמִשְׁכְּבֵהוֹן ולא במקומהון בשום מת מת מִן מִן אברחגיה יט</p> <p>יט יס יס טטט זוז ססס ד[צ־]יר גליף עלוהי שֵׁם מְפֹרֶשׁ</p> <p>מישית ימי בראשית הללויה</p> <p>לְ[שמך] הַלְלוּיָהּ לַמַּלְכוּת צְבִירוֹת צְבִירוֹת יוֹרְבָא יוֹרְגָא</p> <p>צְבִירוֹת צְבִירוֹת יוֹרְבָא יוֹרְגָא אֲמֵן [אֲמֵן ס־]לָה הֵהֱהָה</p> | <p>1 [May there] be heal[ing from heaven] for Mahdukh</p> <p>2 daughter of Newandukh [--- Gu]ndasp son of Rašew(an)dukh.</p> <p>3 Elisur Bagdan[a, the king of demons and] the great [r]uler [of] liliths. I beswear you, the lilith</p> <p>4 Ḥabṭas, granddaughter of [the lilith] Za[rnay, who resides] upon the thresh[ol]d of the [ho]use of Gundasp son of Rašewandukh,</p> <p>5 and upon the doorway of Mahdukh daughter of [Newan]dukh and strikes [--- boys and gir]ls. I bes[wear] you in order that you should be struck (!) in your</p> <p>6 pericardium and by the lance of the mighty Si[qaros] who is [ruler over --- and] over <i>dēvs</i> and over liliths. Behold, I write to you, behold, I release you,</p> <p>7 just as demons write deeds of divorce to their wives and they do not come back again. Take [your deed of divorce and] accept [your adjuration and f]lee and be annulled and go out from the house and from the dwelling of Mahdukh daughter of</p> <p>8 Newandukh and from the doorway and from the family of Gundasp son of [Rašewandu]kh, his wi[f]e (!), and do not appear to them, not by dream of night or of day, and neither during their sleep nor during their waking, and neither</p> <p>9 when they lie down nor when they get up. By the name of <i>nomina barbara</i> on which the ineffable name is [dr]awn (and) carved, from the six days of creation. Hallelujah</p> <p>10 to [your name.] Hallelujah to your kingdom. <i>nomina barbara</i> Amen, [Amen, Se]lah HHHHH.</p> |
|--|--|

7–8. It appears that the scribe has mixed up the names of the clients.



JBA 29 (MS 1927/51)

180 × 50 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded.

In the centre, there is a large circle within which there are seven lines of writing in different directions. Clients: Farrokh son of Rašewandukh; Maškoy, his wife.

Inside the central circle, in different directions:

| | | |
|----------|---|------------------|
| אסותא מן | 1 | Healing from |
| שמיא | 2 | heaven |
| דיחתמא | 3 | that seals. |
| אמן | 4 | Amen, |
| אמן | 5 | Amen, |
| מן ס | 6 | (A)men, S(elah), |
| סלה | 7 | Selah. |

Main inscription:

| | | |
|---|----|--|
| אליסור בגדנא מליהון דדיוי ושלטא רבה דליליתא מומינא ליכי חבלס ליליתא | 8 | Elisur Bagdana, the king of <i>dēvs</i> and the great ruler of liliths. I adjure you, the lilith Ḥablas, |
| בת בריתה דורני ליליתא דשריא על איסקופת ביתיה דפרוך בר רשיונודך ומחיא ושקפא | 9 | granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay, who resides upon the threshold of the house of Farrokh son of Rašewandukh, and strikes and beats |
| דרדקי ודרדקתא אשבעית עליכי דתימחין בטרפסי ליבביכי ובמורנית'ה דקתרוס גיברא | 10 | boys and girls. I beswear you in order that you should be struck in your pericardium and by the lance of the mighty Qitaros, |
| דהוא שליט על שידי ועל דיוי ועל ליליתא כתבית ליכי גיטיכי ותריכית יתיכי מן פרוך בר רשיונודך כמה דכתבין | 11 | who is ruler over demons and over <i>dēvs</i> and over liliths. I write to you your deed of divorce, and I divorce you from Farrokh son of Rašewandukh, just as demons |
| שידי גיטי לינשיהון ותוב לא הדר'י [י] ע'ליהין שקולי גיטיכי וקביל מומתיכי ופוקי וקדוחי ועטורי וערוקי מן ביתיה דפרוך בר רשיונודך | 12 | write deeds of divorce to their wives and [th]ey do not come back again unto them. Take your deed of divorce and accept your adjuration and go out and flee and go away and take flight from the house of Farrokh son of Rašewandukh |
| ודמשכו איתתיה בשום א[---] מחץ אבר'חג[---] יט יס אסירת וחתימת בעיקתיה דצ[י]ר גליף עליה שם מפורש סידור עלמא | 13 | and of Maškoy his wife. By the name of [---] <i>nomina barbara</i> [---] <i>nomina barbara</i> you are bound and sealed by his signet-ring on which the ineffable name is dr[a]wn (and) carved, the arrangement of the world, |

12. šqwly ... wqbyl: "take ... and accept"; note the inconsistency in the use of final *yodh* to indicate the fem. sg. impv.

twry: "go away"; cf. Mand. ʿTR "go back, be driven away, go away, disappear" (MD, 13).

13. yzqtyh: "his signet-ring"; it is possible that a name has been omitted (see also JBA 40:5)—cf. e.g. JBA 46:9.

14 מִשִּׁשֶּׁת יָמֵי בְרָאשִׁי[ת א] מִן אֲמֹן [סֵלָה] from the six days of creatio[n. A]men, Amen,
[Selah].



JBA 30 (MS 1928/47)

160 × 65 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded.

There are two sets of magic characters, the first with six and the second with eight (both in l. 10).

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of *ṭet*, instead of the more common *dalet* or *taw*, in *drṭqy wdrṭqt* (l. 4); the form of the 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. with final *yodh* in *ḥtymyty* (l. 8) is noteworthy (see Juusola 1999, 80); note the use of final *ʾaleph* rather than *he* in *hllwy* (twice in l. 9).

Clients: Bar-Sahde son of Aḥata; Aywi (?) daughter of Aqrita, his wife.

Biblical quotation: Num 9:23.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>קְבִלִי שְׁמִי מִן הַשֵּׁם אֲדָרְשֶׁה בְּרַחֲמֵי לִשְׁמֹךְ אֲנִי עוֹשֶׂה אֵילִיסוּר</p> | 1 | Accept the b[a]n from the [name of] Joshua bar Perahia. By your name I act. Elisur |
| <p>בַּגְדָּן [א] מַלְכֵּהוֹן דְּשִׁי [ידי] וְדִי שְׁלִיטָא רַבָּא דְּלִילִיתָא מוֹמְנָא וּמִשְׁבַּעְנָא עַלְכִּי</p> | 2 | Bagdan[a], the king of de[mons] and <i>dēvs</i> , the great ruler of liliths. I adjure and beswear you, |
| <p>חַלְבַּת לִילִיתָא בַּת בִּרְתָּה דְּזַרְנִי לִילִיתָא דְּשִׁרְיָא עַל אִסְכּוּפַת בֵּיתָה דְּבַרְסַּהֲדִי</p> | 3 | the lilith Ḥalbat, granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay, who resides upon the threshold of the house of Bar-Sahde |
| <p>בֶּר אַחְתָּא [וְד] אֵיִוָּא בַּת אֶקְרִיתָא אִיתְתִּיהּ וּמַחֲיָא וּטְרַפָּא וּקְטָלָא דְּרַטְקִי וּדְרַטְקָתָא</p> | 4 | son of Aḥata [and of] Aywi (?) daughter of Aqrita, his wife, and strikes and smites and kills boys and girls. |
| <p>מוֹמְנָא וּמִשְׁבַּעְנָא עַלְכִּי דְּאִיתְמַחֵן בְּטוּפְרִס דְּלִילְכִי וּבְמוֹרְנִיתָא דְּסִיקְרוֹס גִּבְרָא דְּהוּא שְׁלִיט</p> | 5 | I adjure and beswear you in order that you should be struck (!) in your pericardium and by the lance of the mighty Siqaros who is ruler |
| <p>עַל דִּיוִּן וְעַל שִׁדְיָן וְעַל לְטַבִּין הָא כְּתָבִית לִיכִי וְהָא פְטָרִית יְתִיכִי כְּמָה דְּכְתַבִּין שִׁדְיָי גִּטִּי לְנִשְׁיָהוֹן</p> | 6 | over <i>dēvs</i> and over demons and over no-good ones. Behold, I write to you, and behold, I release you, just as demons write deeds of divorce to their wives |
| <p>וְתוֹב לֹא הִדְרִין עֲלֵיהֶן שְׁקוּלִי גִיטִיכִי וּקְבִילִי מוֹמְתִיכִי וְקָדְחִי וּפּוֹקִי וְעֵרְקִי מִן בֵּיתָהּ וּמִן דְּרָ[תִּיהּ] וּמִן</p> | 7 | and they do not come back again unto them. Take your deed of divorce and accept your adjuration and flee and go out and take flight from the house and fr[om] the [dwell]ing and from |
| <p>פְּגִרְיָה דְּבַרְסַּהֲדִי בֶּר אַחְתָּא וּמִן אִיוָּא בַּת אֶקְרִיתָא אִיתְתִּיהּ בְּשֵׁם יְהִי יְהִי יְהִי מִן מִן מִן יְהִי יְהִי חֲתִימִיתִי</p> | 8 | the body of Bar-Sahde son of Aḥata and from Aywi (?) daughter of Aqrita, his wife. By the name of Yah Yah Yah Yah <i>nomina barbara</i> you are sealed |
| <p>בְּעִזְקָתָא דִּין וְרָ[קִילָא] עַל שׁוּם מִפְרָשָׁא רַבָּא סְדוּר עֲלֵמָה כּוּלִּיהּ {כּוּלִּיהּ} מִשִּׁשֶּׁת יָמֵי בְּרָאשִׁית אֲמֵן אֲמֵן סְלָה הַלְלוּיָא לְשִׁמְךָ הַלְלוּיָא</p> | 9 | by the signet-ring on which the great ineffable name is drawn (and) ca[rved], the arrangement of the whole world, from the six days of creation. Amen, Amen, Selah. Hallelujah to your name. Hallelujah |

9. See the introduction to I.2.2.

- 10 למלכותך (magic characters) קיצי צב ציתין סב ס[מ]ון סלה
 (magic characters) אִיִּיִּי כִּיִּי --- על פי יהוה יחנו
 ועל פי יהוה
- 11 יסעו את משמרתִי [יהוה שמ]רו על [פי יהוה ביד משה]
 they journeyed. They [kep]t the charge of [YHWH] at
 [the commandment of YHWH by the hand of
 Moses"].



JBA 31 (MS 2053/41)

155×75 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a small portion.

The writing is partly faded.

Clients: Bar-Sahde son of Aḥata; Aywi (?) daughter of Aqrita.

- | | | |
|---|----|--|
| קבילי שמתא מן שמא דיהושוע בר פרחיא | 1 | Accept the ban from the name of Joshua bar Peraḥia. |
| לשמך אני עושה אליסור בגדנא מלכהון דשידי | 2 | By your name I act. Elisur Bagdana, the king of demons |
| ודיוי שליטא רבה דליליתא מוֹמְנא ומשבענא עלכי | 3 | and <i>dēvs</i> , the great ruler of liliths. I adjure and beswear you, |
| חלב[ת לי]ליתא בת ברחה דורני ליליתא {בת ברחה דורני ליליתא} | 4 | the [li]lith Ḥalba[ṭ], granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay, |
| דשריא על איסכוֹן[פ]ת ביתיה דברסהדי בר אחתא ודאיוי בת | 5 | who resides upon the thresh[ol]d of the house of Bar-Sahde son of Aḥata and of Aywi (?) daughter of |
| א[ק]ריתא ומחיא וטרפא וקטלא מומנא ומשבענא עלכי דאִתְמַחֵן בטופרס | 6 | A[q]rita, and strikes and smites and kills. I adjure and beswear you in order that you should be struck (!) in your |
| דליבכי ובמורניתא דסיקרוס גִיברא דשליט על דיוין ועל שידין ועל לטבין | 7 | pericardium and by the lance of the mighty Siqaros who is ruler over <i>dēvs</i> and over demons and over no-good ones. |
| הא כתבית ל[י]כי והא פטרית יתיכי כמא דכתבין שידי גִיטִי לנשיהון ותוב לא | 8 | Behold, I write to you, and behold, I release you, just as demons write deeds of divorce to their wives and they do not |
| הדרין עליה[י]ן שקולי גיטיכי וקבילי מומתיכי וקדח[י] ופוקי וערקי מן ביתיה דברסהדי | 9 | come back again unto th[e]m. Take your deed of divorce and accept your adjuration and fle[e] and go out and take flight from the house of Bar-Sahde |
| בִּר אחתא ומן אִיואי בת אקריתא [ב]שום יה [יה] יה יה מן מן מן יט יט יט חת[ימתי] | 10 | son of Aḥata and from Aywi (?) daughter of Aqrita. [By] the name of Yah [Yah] Yah Yah Yah <i>nomina barbara</i> [you are] sea[led] |
| [בעי]זקתא דין ורקילא על שום מפרש רבה סדור ע[למ]א כוליה משישת י[מי בראשית] א[מן] | 11 | [by] the [sig]net-ring on which the great ineffable name is drawn (and) carved, the arrangement of the whole wo[rld], from the six da[ys of creation]. A[men]. |



JBA 32 (MS 2053/64)

JBA 33 (MS 2053/83)

180×60 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a portion. The writing is mostly faded.

Client: [--- son of] Mihranahid (cf. JBA 28).

| | | |
|---|----|---|
| א[ל]יִסור בגדנא [מ]לִכְהוֹן דשידי ושלִיטא | 1 | E[l]isur Bagdana, the [k]ing of demons and the [great] |
| [רבא דליליתא אשבעית ע]לכי חֲבַטְס ליליתא בת ברתה דזֶרְנִי | 2 | ruler [of liliths. I beswear y]ou, the lilith Ḥabṭas, granddaughter of the li[lith] |
| לִי[ליתא ---] מִיְהֲרֻנְהִיד ועל פיתחה | 3 | Zarnay [---] Mihranahid, and upon the doorway |
| [--- אשב]עִית [ע]לכי דתימחיני בטופלס ליבִלְבִיכִי | 4 | [---] I [beswe]ar [y]ou in order that you should be struck (!) in your pericardium |
| [---] וע[ל] לִי[ליתא הכְתִבְתִּי לִיכִי והפטרִית | 5 | [---] and ov[er] l[i]liths. Behold, I write to you, and behold, I release |
| [--- מומת]יכִי וְקִדְחִי ועיקורי ופוק[ן] מִן | 6 | [---] your [adjuration] and flee and be annulled and go ou[t] from |
| [---] | 7 | [---] |
| [---] | 8 | [---] |
| [---] | 9 | [---] |
| [---] | 10 | [---] |
| [---] | 11 | [---] |



JBA 33 (MS 2053/83)—general view



JBA 33 (MS 2053/83)—centre of bowl

180×63 mm. Crude semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a portion. The writing is partly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle.

Linguistic and orthographic features: **drdqwnyt'** (l. 6) resembles Mand. **dirdquniata** (*MD*, 109).

Clients: Dukhtoy daughter of Hormizdukh; [Bizdad (?)] son of Gušnay, her husband (cf. MS 2053/80).

Biblical quotation: Ex 3:14.

Image: In the centre of the bowl, within a circle, there is a poorly preserved frontal figure, standing on what looks like four legs. The body shape is that of a spider or other insect, although the face is rather human. By the smart headdress, made of a high braid, we may assume that it is a female. The face has two large eyes either side of the nose, which is probably a vertical narrow triangle that is a continuation of the eyebrows. The feet are probably wearing shoes, and it appears that the ankles are bound by a rope.



Fig. 10: Artist's impression of image from JBA 34.

- 1 By the mer[cy of heaven] may there be sea[li]ng for Dukhtoy daughter of
- 2 Hormiz[dukh. And may] children [endure] for her and may her body endure [for her] and no tormentor
- 3 that i[s in] the [world] shall touch her. By the name of "I am that I am". Elisur Bagdana,
- 4 the king (of) [---] and the [great] ruler [of] liliths. I beswear you, the lilith
- 5 Ḥablas, granddaughter [of] the [lilith Zarnay, who resides upon the th]reshold of the house of Dukhtoy daughter of
- 6 Hormizdukh and appears [--- bo]ys and girls. I beswear you
- 7 in order that you should be struck in [your] per[icardium and by] the l[a]nce [of] the mighty [---]os who is ruler over demons and over *dēvs*
- 8 and over liliths. Behold, [---] you from this Dukhtoy daughter of Hormizdukh and from the children
- 9 that she has and that she will have and fr[om ---] deeds of divorce [to] their wives and they do not come back again unto them. Take
- 10 your deed of divorce and accept [your] ad[juration ---] from [the] house [and] from the dwelling of Dukhtoy daughter of Hormizdukh
- 11 and you shall not appear any more to her [--- and] you shall [no]t come near nor injure the children
- 12 that she has and that she will have, Dukhtoy [--- and Bizdad (?)] son of Gušnay, her husband [---] *nomina barbara* by the signet-ring on [which]
- 13 the (great) ineffable name is [dr]awn (and) carved [---]

1. lh[t[---]t]: This is probably for lh h[t[---]t] by haplography. The traces in the lacuna are difficult to interpret, but the word is undoubtedly a form of h[tmt] "sealing" and is thus translated.

3. Ex 3:14.

12. byzdd: "Bizdad" (?); cf. MS 2053/80:1. The name probably derives from *ba-yazad-dād "given by the deity bay".

13. šwm mpwrš: Cf. the note to JBA 16:5. Mishor 2007, 223, believes that Heb. šm "name" retained the vocalisation with *šere* in Babylonian Hebrew when referring to the divine name.



JBA 34 (MS 2053/86)—general view



JBA 34 (MS 2053/86)—sample section showing faded text

170 × 60 mm. Crude semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is mostly faded.

Client: Dukhtay daughter of Hormizdukh.

- | | | |
|--|----|---|
| אסירין דיון חתימין לילין אסירין חת[י] מין דיון | 1 | Bound are the <i>dēvs</i> , sealed are the lilis, bound are the lilis, se[a]led are the <i>dēvs</i> . |
| אסירין לילין וחתמין [די] ו[י] ולטבין וליילין אינון ושורבתינון ונשי[ה]ון | 2 | Bound are the lilis and sealed are [the <i>dē</i>]v[s] and the no-good ones and the lilis, they and their families and [th]eir wives |
| ובניהון מן כוכבה ומן חלק[ה] דדוכת[י] בת הורמיזדוך בהדין גיטא דאתא מאלכסנדריא | 3 | and their sons, from the star and from the lot of Dukhta[y] daughter of Hormizdukh. By this deed of divorce that came from the great |
| רבתא דמצרים יפתקא דנפק ביד יוחנא ו[ממרא באי] ל[י] ש[מ]הת מלאכיה דכתבין בסיפרא הדין | 4 | Alexandria of Egypt, the certificate that went forth by the hand of Yoḥana and [Mamre. By th]e[s]e na[m]es of the angels that are written in this document: |
| פוטי ופ[וטי] טיגורי וגורי איבלו [---] אל עטריאל פטריאל וקטריאל | 5 | <i>nomina barbara</i> [---]el, 'Aṭriel, Paṭriel and Qaṭriel, |
| אילין מלאכי גבורתא אינון יפט[רון] וית כל שום דאית לה מן כוכבה | 6 | these angels of mighty acts, they will relea[se ---] and any name that she has, from the star |
| וחילקה ומזאלה דדוכתי א[---] ומן חיוזה דיממא ומן כל דמו נשין דמידמן אינון ניהון [---] | 7 | and the lot and the fortune of Dukhtay [---] and from a vision of the day, and from every form (of) women that appear. They shall be [---] |
| [---] יה השם הזה ה[---] | 8 | [---]yh this name [---] |
| [---] אליסו בגדנא מלכהון דשידי [---] | 9 | [---] Elisu(r) Bagdana, the king of demons [---] |
| [---] דוכתי בת ה[רמיזדוך ומימא] ל[ה] [---] | 10 | [---] Dukhtay daughter of Ho]rmizdukh and appears to [her ---] |
| [---] א ליכית דת[ימח] בטרפס [לילבכי] [---] | 11 | [---] you in order that you should [be stru]ck in [your] peri[cardium ---] |
| [---] | 12 | [---] |
| [---] | 13 | [---] |

7. *dwkty*: "Dukhtay"; the following *ʾaleph* may be part of the client's name, i.e. *dwktyw* or *dwkt{y}y*.



JBA 35 (MS 2053/89)

165–175 × 60 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl has an irregular shape, being more elliptical than circular.

It was broken, but has been repaired. The inside of the bowl has deep grooves that are probably marks of the potter's wheel. The writing is mostly faded and goes from the rim towards the centre.

Clients: Bar-ḥa-be-šabba son of Ḥatay; Farrokhoy (?) daughter of Aḥata (?); [---] son of Miray; Ḥatay daughter of Marba.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>---[ח]תִּים בְּ[י]תִיה דברחבשבא בר חתִי פִרְכִּי בְּת אֶחָתָא --- אליס[ור בגדנא מלכהון דדוי ושדי ושליטא רבא דליליתָא מִשְׁבַּעֲנָא</p> <p>[עלכי ח]ל[ב]ס ליליתא בת ברתה דזרני ליליתָא דשריא על איסיכפת ביתיה [וד]חֲתִי בת מרבא דברחבשבא בר חתי דמחי[א]---</p> <p>---[תא מומנא עלכי חלבס ליליתא בת ברתה דזרני ליליתָא ---] בר מירי ודחתי בת מרבָא ב[---]</p> <p>---[בטו]פִלֶס לְבַלְבְּכִי ובמורניתיה דקתרוס גְּבְרָא דהוא [ש]לֶט על שְׂדִי ---[כ]תבֶּת ל[כי] ופטריית ית[י]כִי ---</p> <p>---[גטא לנשיה]ו[ו] ותוב לא הדרין שק[ולי] גִטְכִי וְקָב[ילי] ---[וערוקי]מן[מ]ן ביתיה ומן דִּיר[תיה]---</p> <p>---[---] 6 [---]</p> | <p>1 [Se]aled is the ho[u]se of Bar-ḥa-be-šabba son of Ḥatay, (and) Farrokhoy (?) daughter of Aḥata (?) [--- Elis]ur Bagdana, the king of <i>dēvs</i> and demons and the great ruler of liliths. I beswear</p> <p>2 [you] the lilith [Ḥa]l[ba]s, granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay, who resides upon the threshold of the house (of) [--- and of] Ḥatay daughter of Marba and of Bar-ḥa-be-šabba son of Ḥatay, who strike[s] ---]</p> <p>3 [---] I adjure you, the lilith Ḥalbas, granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay [---] son of Miray and of Ḥatay daughter of Marba [---]</p> <p>4 [--- in] your [p]ericardium and by the lance of the mighty Qitaros, who is [ru]ler over demons [---] I [wr]ite to [you], and I release you [---]</p> <p>5 [---] a deed of divorce to th[ei]r wives and they do not come back again. Ta[ke] your deed of divorce and acc[ept ---] and take flight [from] the house and from [the] dwell[ing] ---]</p> |
|--|---|



JBA 36 (MS 2053/110)

180×60 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded. The text is surrounded by a circle.

Clients: Dukhtbeh (or Dukhtbe) daughter of Gušnašp-fri; Farrokh son of Rašewandukh.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>אֶסְוֹתָא מִן שְׁמִי הַתִּיהוּי לְ[ה]</p> <p>[לד] וְכִתְבִּיהַּ בַּת גּוּשְׁנַצְפַּרְי [---] מִן כָּל</p> <p>לְ[י] לְ[י]תָא וְ[א] וּמִן חוּמְרִין בִּישָׁן וּמִן וְרוּחִין [ז] וְזִידְנִין [אי] לְ[סִינְ]ר</p> <p>בְּגִדְנָא מַלְכָּהוּן</p> <p>[דשידי ושליטא] רַבָּא דְלִילִיתָא אֲשַׁבְּעִיתָ עָלָיְךָ [חבט] ס</p> <p>לְ[יל] יתא [בת ברתה דזרני]</p> <p>[ליליתא דשריא על] אֲסֻכּוּפַת בֵּיתָהּ דְּפֶרוּךְ בֶּר [רשי] וְזִנְדוּךְ</p> <p>וְעַל פִּתְּהָ דְּדוּכְתְּבִי [ה בת גושנצפרי ---]</p> <p>[ו] מַחֲיָא [א] וְטָרָא [פא] דְּרִדְקִי וְדִרְדָּקְתָּא אֲשַׁבְּעִית עָלָיְךָ</p> <p>דְּתִימַחֲנִי בְּטוּפִלְס לִיבְלִיכִי וְבִמְ[ורניתה דס] קְרוֹס גִּיבְ[רא]</p> <p>דְּהוּא</p> <p>[ש] לִיטְ [ע] לְ שִׁידִי עָל שִׁפְטִי עַל דִּי וְעַל לִילִיתָא הַכְּתִבִּית לִיכִי</p> <p>וְהַפְטִרִית יִתִּיכִי כִּמְה דְּכַתְּבִין שִׁידִי [ג] טִי לְנִשְׂיָהּ [ון ---]</p> <p>[וקביל מ] וּמְתִיכִי וּקְדַחִי וְעִיקוּרִי וּפּוּקִי מִן בֵּיתָהּ וּמִן דִּירַת [י] הָ</p> <p>דְּפֶרוּךְ בֶּר רִשְׁיוֹנְדוּךְ מִן פִּתְחָה דְּדוּכְתְּבִי בְּתָ גִּיבְ[נצפרי] ---</p> <p>לֹא</p> <p>בְּחִילְמָא דְלִילִיא וְלֹא בְּחִילְמָא דִּימְמָה וְלֹא בְּשִׁינְתָּהּ וְלֹא</p> <p>[ב] עֵיל [יהו] וְלֹא בְּמִשְׁכַּבְהוֹן וְלֹא בְּמִקּוּמָהּ בְּשׁוּם [מת] מֵת</p> <p>מִן מִן אֲבִרְחָגִיהַּ יִט יִט יִס יִס טֹט טֹט זֹז</p> <p>סֶס [ס ד] צִיר גִּי [לי] הָ עֵלוּהִי שֵׁם מְפּוֹרֶשׁ מִשִּׁישֵׁת יוֹמִי בֶר [אשית]</p> <p>הַלְלוּיָהּ לִשְׁ[מ] מִן הַלְלוּיָהּ לְמַלְכוּתָךְ צְבִירוֹת צְבִירוֹת יוֹרְגָא</p> <p>[יורבא צביר] וְתִצְבִּירוֹת יוֹרְבָא יוֹרְגָא אֲמֵן [אמן] סֵלָה</p> | <p>1 May there be healing from he[ave]n for</p> <p>2 [D]ukhtbeh daughter of Gušnašp-fri [---] from all</p> <p>3 l[i]l[ith]s and from evil amulet spirits and from wicked spirit[s]. [E]lisu[r Bagdana, the king]</p> <p>4 [of demons and] the great [ruler] of liliths. I beswear you, the l[il]ith [Ḥabṭa]s, [granddaughter of the lilith]</p> <p>5 [Zarnay, who resides upon] the threshold of the house of Farrokh son of [Raše]wandukh and upon the doorway of Dukhtbe[h daughter of Gušnašp-fri ---]</p> <p>6 [and] strike[s] and smi[tes] boys and girls. I beswear you in order that you should be struck in your pericardium and by [the] l[ance of the] migh[ty Si]qaros, who is</p> <p>7 [r]uler [ov]er demons, over afflictions, over <i>dēvs</i>, and over liliths. Behold, I write to you, and behold, I release you, just as demons write [de]eds of divorce to th[eir] wives [---]</p> <p>8 [and accept] your [a]djuration and flee and be annulled and go out from the house and from the dwelling of Farrokh son of Rašewandukh, from the doorway of Dukhtbe daughter of Gu[š]našp-fr[i --- neither]</p> <p>9 by dream of night nor by dream of day, and neither during their sl[e]ep nor [during thei]r waking, and neither when they lie down nor when they get up. By the name of <i>nomina barbara</i></p> <p>10 <i>nomina barbara</i> on [wh]ich the ineffable name is drawn (and) ca[rv]ed, from the six days of crea[tion]. Hallelujah to] your [na]me. Hallelujah to your kingdom. <i>nomina barbara</i> Amen, [Amen,] Selah.</p> |
|--|--|

3. wrwhyn: Error for rwhyn.

5. pyth: Error for pythh (cf. JBA 29:5).

6. drdqṭʿ: For drdqṭʿ.



JBA 37 (MS 2053/123)

147×55 mm. Crude semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a portion.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of final *'aleph* rather than *he* in *sl'* (l. 7).

Client: Asmandukh daughter of Khwaruq (?).

Image: In the centre of the bowl there is a circle with eleven straight lines stretching upwards from it. Within the circle, there is another smaller circle, above which is a small design. The drawing looks like a very schematic eye, but there is no mention of the evil eye in the text or any other example of this design in other bowls.

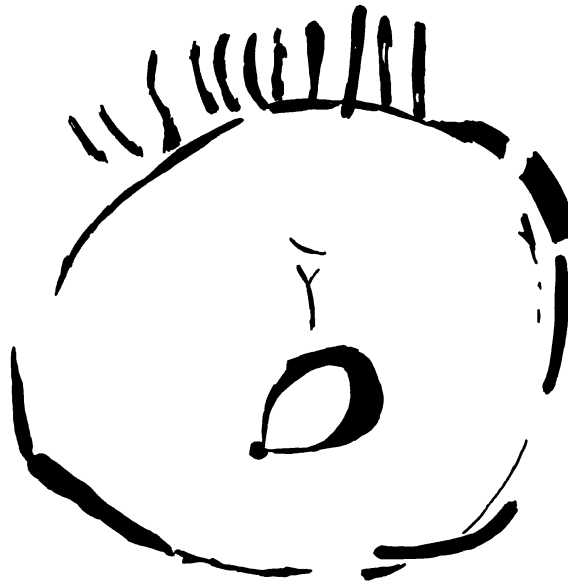


Fig. 11: Artist's impression of image from JBA 38.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| אליסור בגדנא רבה דשידי ושלטיא רבא | 1 | Elisur Bagdana, the great one of demons and the great ruler |
| דליליתא אשבעית עלי חבל[ס ל]יליתא ברתה דזרני ליליתא | 2 | of liliths. I beswear you, the [l]ilith Habla[s], <grand>daughter of the lilith Zarnay, |
| דשריה על איסקופת ביתא [וקט] לה דעדקי ודעדקתה דיתמחין | 3 | who resides upon the threshold of the house [and kil]ls boys and girls, in order that you should be struck (!) |
| בטופרס ליבכי ובמורוניתא דסיקר[וס גי]ברא ומן אסמנדוך בת בורוק | 4 | in your pericardium and by the lance of the [mi]ghty Siqar[os]. And from Asmandukh daughter of Khwaruq (?). |
| הא כתבית ליכי והא {והא} שבקית [---] דכתבית ליכי כמה דכתבין שידי | 5 | Behold, I write to you, and behold, I dismiss [---] that I have written to you just as demons write |
| ג'ט'י לינשיהון ולא הדרן קדחי [--- ולא] תיתהון מן יומא דין ולעלם אמן אמן | 6 | deeds of divorce to their wives and they do not come back. Flee [--- and] do [not] appear from this day and for ever. Amen, Amen, |
| סלא | 7 | Selah. |

1. *rbh dšydy*: For the usual *mlkhwn dšydy*, or the like. A similar reading occurs in JNF 143:1: *byšmk 'lyswr bgdn' rbhn dšydy wšlyt' rb' dlylyt'* "by your name, Elisur Bagdana, the great one of demons and the great ruler of the liliths". Cf. also JBA 46:1, which has both *rbh* and *mlkhwn*.

2. *brth*: Probably an error for *bt brth*, as in the parallels.

3. *wqtlh*: "and kills"; for this restoration, cf. JBA 42:4.

6. *wl' tythwn*: "and do not appear"; for this verb, cf. *DJBA*, 437–438 (see also JBA 45:5 and JBA 62:6). A transcription with *het* is also theoretically possible here and in the other occurrences of this verb in the present corpus. Note, however, that, in the examples of the *itpe* stem cited in *DJBA*, 438, the verb is consistently written with *he* rather than *het*.



JBA 38 (MS 2053/151)

180 × 65 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a large portion.

The writing is partly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle.

Clients: Undas son of Rašewandukh; Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, his wife.

| | | |
|--|----|---|
| אֵלִישׁוֹןִר] בגדנא מלכהון דשידי | 1 | Elisu[r] Bagdana, the king of demons |
| וְשִׁלְיָטָא [רבא דלי] ליתא [אשבעי] תִּעֲלִי [חבלס] | 2 | and the [great] ruler [of li]liths. I [beswear] you, [the lilith] |
| [ליליתא] בת [ברתה דזרני ליליתא דשרי] אֵלִיִּסְכּוּפַת ביתה | 3 | [Ḥablas], grand[daughter of the lilith Zarnay, who resid]es upon the threshold of the house |
| [ד] אֶוְנַדָּאס בר ר[שיונ] דִּוְךְ [ו] עֲלֵי פִתָּה דמהדוך בת ני[ונדוך ומחיא וטרפא דרדקי] | 4 | [of] Undas son of Ra[šewan]dukh [and] upon the door[way of Mahdukh daughter of Ne]wandukh and strikes and smites boys |
| ודרדקתא אש[בעית עלי --- ו] במורניתיה דסקרוס גיברא ד[הו]א | 5 | and girls. [I] besw[ear you --- and] by the lance of the mighty Siqaros, who [i]s |
| של[י] ט על ש[ידי על] שִׁפְטִי על דיו ועל [---] פִּטְרִית יְתִיכִי כמה דכתבין שִׁידִי | 6 | rul[e]r over de[mons, over] afflictions, over <i>dēvs</i> and over [---] I release you, just as demons write |
| גִּיטִי [ל] נְשִׁיהוֹן [---] שקולי גיטיכי וק[בלי ---] דירתיה דאונדאס | 7 | deeds of divorce [to] their wives [---] Take your deed of divorce and ac[cept ---] the dwelling of Undas |
| בִּרְשִׁיוֹנוֹךְ [---] דְּמַהדוֹךְ בת ניונדוך אינ[תתיה ---] דִּימ[מ]ה וְלֹא בְשִׁינְתָּהוֹן | 8 | son of Rašewandukh [---] of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, [his] wi[fe ---] of da[y], and neither during their sleep |
| ולא [---] ולא במיש[כבהון ולא בימק[ו] מהון [---] זִיז ססס [דצי] ר גִּלְיָה [---] | 9 | nor [--- and neither when] they [lie do]wn nor when they get [u]p [---] <i>nomina barbara</i> (on) [which] (the ineffable name) [is dra]wn (and) carved [---] |
| [---] ב[ראשית הללו]ה ל[שמך --- צב] ירות [צ] ביר[ו]ת [---] | 10 | [--- cr]eation. Halleluja[h to] your name [---] <i>nomina barbara</i> [---] |
| [---] | 11 | [---] |



JBA 39 (MS 2053/162)

170 × 70 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded and in concentric circles, so it is not always clear where each line begins. The first line contains a cross, which may have been intended simply to mark the beginning of the text. It is not clear whether this alludes to a Christian affiliation, as the text seems to contain no other Christian motif.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Contrary to the common orthography of the name Elisur, the spelling here is with initial *ayin*; the use of *dalet* for *taw* in *'rdqy* (l. 1), *tydmhy* (l. 2) and *dqtlyn* (l. 5); *tyddmyn* for *tydmyn* (with assimilated *taw*, l. 5); the use of *'aleph* as *mater lectionis* in *lyly't* (ll. 2 and 3), *h'd* (ll. 2 and 4), *mwr'nyt* (l. 2), *'ysqwpt'h* (l. 2), *h'dyn* (ll. 2 and 6), *kt'byt* (l. 3), *y'tyky* (l. 3), *mwm't'ky* (l. 4), *dyrt'h* (l. 4), *ym'm'/h* (twice in l. 5), *pyr'h* (l. 5), *Ph* (l. 5), *r'z'* (l. 6) and *'l'm* (l. 6); the use of redundant *he* in *pyr'h* (l. 5); the sandhi writing *w'lyly't* for *w'l lyly't* (l. 3); similarly, *lhdryn* for *l' hdryn* (l. 3) and *lbzr° ... wlbpyr'h* for *l' bzr° ... w'l bpyr'h* (l. 5).

Clients: Inoy daughter of Abu; Ihay son of Denroy (?).

Biblical quotation: Ex 3:14.

Image: In the centre of the bowl there is a horse standing in profile, looking to the right, with a spotted body. Although the drawing is poorly preserved, both rear legs, one front leg, a tail and two little ears are visible. There is a harness that is attached to the mouth and proceeds to the neck. The mouth is triangular and there is one round eye above it. By the horse's pose, we may assume that a rider was depicted on its back, but this is not preserved.

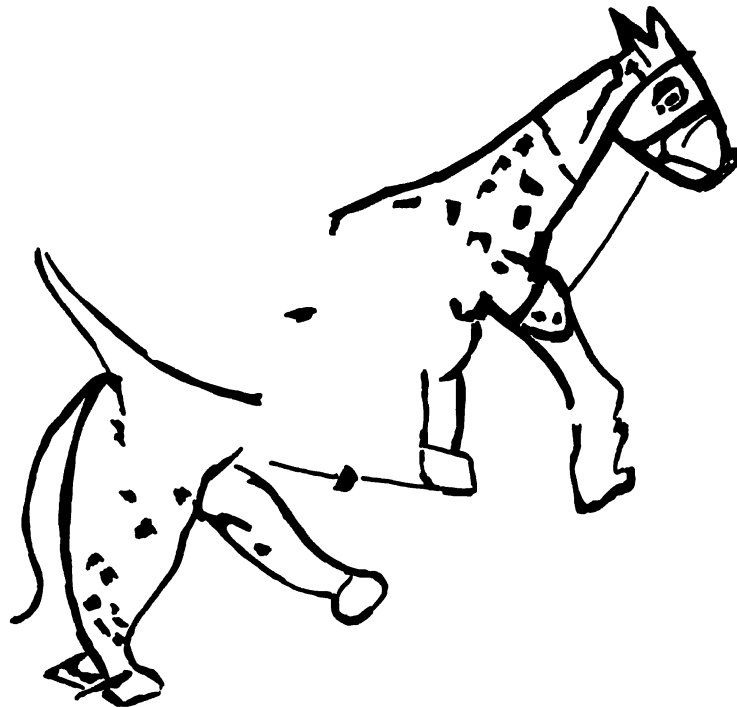


Fig. 12: Artist's impression of image from JBA 40.

- 1 [---] ולאֲחֹתַיִן בִּיסַר בְּנֵי וְכוּלָּהּ [ו] קָטְלִי בִיתָהוֹן [---] סֹסְנֵי
ססוני וסניגרי וארדקי עלאיסור בגדנה מלכה מלכיהון דשידי
[ודיוי ושליטא]
- 2 רבה דליליאתא אשבעת עלכי האדא חלבת ליל[ית]א בת
ברתא דזרני ליליתא בתידמחי בטופרס לילככי במוראניתא
דקתרוס גיברא דשריא על איצקופתאה דהאדון
- 3 אינוי בת אבו דהיא שליטא על שידי ועל דיוי ועליליאתא הא
הא כתאבית ליכ[י ופ]ט[ארית] יאתיכי כמה דיהבין שידי ודיוי
גיטי לינשיהון תוב להדרין עליהן שקולי גיטכי וקביל
- 4 מומאתאכי {וע} ויעירקִי ועיקרי ופוקי מין ביתיה ומין
שור(ב)תיה [ו]מִיִן דִּירְתָא דהאדא אינוי בת אבו ולא תיתחון
להון לא לשיד אינוי בת אבו ול[א] לשיד אחי בר דִּינְרִי לא
בחילמא דליליא ולא
- 5 ב{ב}חיונא דימאמא ולא תיחטן בהון לבזרעא דליליא
ולבפיראה דימאמא ולא תידדמין לאה בכול גון בגונן ולא
דקטלין ית בנן דאית להוֹא וְדָהוֹן לְהוֹא בְּשׁ[ו]ם אבָהּ מחץ אבג
בר חתִי[מ]ת [בעיז]קתיה דציר
- 6 ויגליף עלָה בשום מפורֹש מישִׁשֶׁת [ימי] בְּרִישׁ[ית] מִיִן יוֹמָה
[דין ולעלאם] הָאֲדִיִן ראזא שריר וְקִים לעאלאם יה יה יה חי חי
[א---]הִי[אש]ר אֶהְיֶה [א---]אמ[ן] סלה
- [---] and they boil (?) the flesh of children, and all of
th[e]m, the dead ones of their house [---] *nomina
barbara* Elisur Bagdana, the king, the king of
demons [and *dēvs* and] the great
- [ruler] of liliths. I beswear you, this lil[it]h Ḥalbat,
granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay, in order that (!)
you should be struck in your pericardium by the
lance of the mighty Qitaros, who resides upon the
threshold of this
- Inoy daughter of Abu, who is ruler over demons and
over *dēvs* and over liliths. Behold, behold, I write to
yo[u and I re]lea[se] you, just as demons and *dēvs*
give deeds of divorce to their wives (and) they do
not come back again unto them. Take your deed of
divorce and accept
- your adjuration and take flight and be annulled and
go out from the house and from the family [and]
from the dwelling of this Inoy daughter of Abu, and
do not appear to them, neither at the side of Inoy
daughter of Abu, no[r] at the side of Iḥay son of
Denroy (?), neither by dream of night nor
- by vision of day, and do not harm them, neither
(their) seed of night nor (their) fruit of day, and do
not appear to her in any way whatsoever, and do not
kill the children that they have and that they will
have. By the n[a]me of *nomina barbara* you are
seal[ed by] his [signet-ri]ng on which there has been
drawn
- and carved with the ineffable name, from the six
[days of] creati[on], from [this] day [and for ever].
This mystery is sound and established for ever. Yah
Yah Yah ḥy ḥy [---] “I a[m tha]t I am” [---] Ame[n],
Selah.

1. The reading and interpretation of the opening of this text is uncertain. For *wl'ḥtyn* “and they boil”, cf. Mand. RHT “to seethe, boil”, and 2054/97:13–14, which appears to have the same interchange between *lamed* and *reš*; alternatively, read *wlrḥtyn* “and they do not boil”.

The *nomina barbara* correspond to those in the Semamit bowls and amulets—see Naveh and Shaked 1985, 104–122, 188–197.
2. *btydmḥy*: Error for *dytymḥy* (< *dytymḥy*). Cf. text A:7 in Geller 1997, 328, as read in Segal 2000, 156.

4. *šyd*: “side”; in TA, *šyd* usually translates Heb. *yerekh* “thigh, loin”. The word is also attested in Mandaic (*MD*, 460, s.v. *šida* 2). For the reading *ḥmšh d'zy mybyt šydyh dšmyš* “five (angels) that go at the side of Šamiš” (*AMB* Bowl 13:21), see Ford 2012.

5. *bkwl gwn bgwnyn*: “in any way whatsoever”; lit. “in any way among ways”.

d'yt lhw' wdhw n lhw': For *d'yt lhw wdhw n lhw'*; the more usual *lhw n* occurs in l. 4.

'yzqtyh: “his signet-ring”; it is possible that a name has been omitted (see also JBA 30:13)—cf. e.g. JBA 46:9.

6. *bšwm mpwrwš*: The parallels read *šwm mpwrš* or the like, without the preposition *b-* (e.g. JBA 34:13). For the writing *šwm* with *waw*, see the notes to JBA 16:5 and JBA 34:13 and the references cited there. The second *waw* in *mpwrwš* indicates the pronunciation of *qamaš* as /o/. For this phenomenon in the Hebrew of the incantation bowls, see Mishor 2007, 219–220.

Ex 3:14.



JBA 40 (MS 2053/167)

200×65mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is mostly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle.

Client: Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh.

- | | | |
|--|----|--|
| [---] | 1 | [---] |
| [---] | 2 | [---] |
| [---] | 3 | [---] |
| [---] על אי[ס[כופ]ת ביתיה [---] | 4 | [--- upon] the [thr]e[shol]d of the house (of) [---] |
| ועל פיתח[ה] --- ומח[א] וטרפא דר[דקי] --- | 5 | and upon the doorwa[y (of) --- and strik]es and smites bo[ys ---] |
| [ד]תימחיני ב[--- גיבר] א דהוא שליט על ש[ידי] --- | 6 | [in order that] you should be struck (!) in [---] the [mighty ---], who is ruler over de[mons ---] |
| [---] הדרין שקולי גיטיכ[י ו]קב[י]ל[י] מ[ומתיכי] --- | 7 | [---] they do (not) come back (again). Take you[r] deed of divorce [and] acc[e]p[t your] ad[juration ---] |
| [---] ומן דירתה ומן פיתחה דמהדוך ב[ת]נ[יונ]דוך --- | 8 | [---] and from the dwelling and from the doorway of Mahdukh daughter of N[ewan]dukh [---] |
| ו[לא] ת[יתחזן] להון [לא] בחילמא ד[לי] [ליה] --- יס יס טטט זוז ססס דציר גליף על[והי] --- | 9 | and do not appear to them, neither by dream of ni[ght ---] <i>nomina barbara</i> on whic[h] (the ineffable name) is drawn (and) carved [---] |
| [---] | 10 | [---] |
| [---] | 11 | [---] |



JBA 41 (MS 2053/184)

160×60 mm. Semi-formal hand. The rim is chipped. The writing is faded in the centre. There are two sets of magic characters, the first with six and the second with eight (both in l. 9).

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of *ṭet*, instead of the more common *dalet* or *taw*, in *drṭqy wdrṭ(q)t'* (l. 4); the form of the 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. with final *yodh* in *ḥtymty* (l. 8) is noteworthy (see Juusola 1999, 80); note the use of *'aleph* for *he* in *wbnwḥ'* and *šwb'* (MT: *wbnḥh* (K.) and *šwbh*; both in l. 10).

Clients: Bar-Sahde son of Aḥata; Aywi (?), his wife.

Biblical quotations: Num 9:23; Num 10:36.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 [קבילי שמתא] מן שְמא ד[י]הושוע בר פרחיא לְשִמךְ אֲנִי [עושה אֵלִיסור]</p> <p>2 [ב]ג[ד]נָא מלכהון דְשידי ודיי שליטא רבא דליליתא מומנא ומשבֿענא עלכי</p> <p>3 חלבת ליליתא בְתָ בְרָתָה דזֶרְנִי ליליתא דשריה על אסכופת ביתה דברסהדי בר אחתא</p> <p>4 ומחיא וטרפא וקטלא דרטקי ודרט(ק)תא מומנא ומשבֿענא עלכי דאיתמחן בטופרס דליבכי</p> <p>5 ובמורניתא דסיקרוס גיברא דהוא שליט על דיון ועל שידין ועל לטבין הא כתבית ליכי והא פטרית</p> <p>6 יתיכי כמא דכתבין שידי גיטי לנשיהון ותוב לא הדרין עליהן שקולי גיטיכי וקבלי מומתיכי</p> <p>7 וקדחי ופוקי וערכי מן ביתיה ומן דרתיה ומן פגריה דברסהדי בר אחתא ומן אייוי איתתיה בשום יה יה יה יה מן מן</p> <p>8 מן יט יט יט חתימתי בעיזקתא דין ורקילא על שום מפרש רבא סדור עלמא כוליה משישת ימי בראשית אמן אמן סלה</p> | <p>1 [Accept the ban] from the name of [J]oshua bar Peraḥia. By your name I [act. Elisur]</p> <p>2 [Ba]g[da]na, the king of demons and <i>dēvs</i>, the great ruler of liliths. I adjure and beswear you,</p> <p>3 the lilith Ḥalbat, granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay, who resides upon the threshold of the house of Bar-Sahde son of Aḥata,</p> <p>4 and strikes and smites and kills boys and girls. I adjure and beswear you in order that you should be struck (!) in your pericardium</p> <p>5 and by the lance of the mighty Siqaros who is ruler over <i>dēvs</i> and over demons and over no-good ones. Behold, I write to you, and behold, I release</p> <p>6 you, just as demons write deeds of divorce to their wives and they do not come back again unto them. Take your deed of divorce and accept your adjuration</p> <p>7 and flee and go out and take flight from the house and from the dwelling and from the body of Bar-Sahde son of Aḥata and from Aywi (?), his wife. By the name of Yah Yah Yah Yah Yah <i>nomina barbara</i></p> <p>8 <i>nomina barbara</i> you are sealed by the signet-ring on which the great ineffable name is drawn (and) carved, the arrangement of the whole world, from the six days of creation. Amen, Amen, Selah.</p> |
|---|--|

8. See the introduction to I.2.2.



JBA 42 (MS 2053/190)

180×50 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken. It has been repaired, but is missing a large portion. The writing is partly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Loss of *-ī* in 2 p. fem. sing. impv. **qbyl** (l. 8), as opposed to **šqwly**, **qdhly**, **ʿyqwry**, **pwqy** (l. 8).

Client: Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, nicknamed Kuṭus.

- | | | |
|--|----|--|
| אסותא מן שמיא תיהוי לה | 1 | May there be healing from heaven for |
| למיהרנהיד בת אחת דמיתקריא כוטוס איליסור | 2 | Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, who is called Kuṭus. Elisur |
| בגדנא מלכהון דשידי ושלטיא רבָה דליליתא אשבּעית | 3 | Bagdana, the king of demons and the great ruler of liliths. I beswear |
| עלכי חבטס לילית בת ברתה דזרני לילית דשריָא עַל אַסכּופת ביתה | 4 | you, lilith Ḥabṭas, granddaughter of lilith Zarnay, who resides upon the threshold of the house |
| דמיהרנהיד בת אחת דמיתקריא כוטוס ועַל פִּיתחָהּ ועַל דירתה ומחיא וטרפא דרדקי | 5 | of Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, who is called Kuṭus, and upon her doorway and upon her dwelling, and strikes and smites boys |
| ודרדקתא אשבּעית עלכי דתימחיני בטופלס לִיבְלָבִיכִי ויבְמִוְרְנִיתִי [א ---] גִּיבְרָא דְהוּא שְׁלִיט עַל | 6 | and girls. I beswear you in order that you should be struck (!) in your pericardium and by [the] lance (of) the mighty [---], who is ruler over |
| שידי על שפטי על דיוי ועל ליליתא הכתבית ליכִי ו[ה]פִּטְרִית --- לנ[שִׁיהון ותו]ב[לא | 7 | demons, over afflictions, over <i>dēvs</i> and over liliths. Behold, I write to you, and [behold, I] relea[se --- to] their [wi]ves and they do not come |
| הדרין שקולי גיטיכי וקביל מומתיכי וקדחי ועיקוֹרִי ופִּקוֹרִי [---] וּמִן | 8 | back aga[in]. Take your deed of divorce and accept your adjuration and flee and be annulled and go out [---] and from |
| פִּיתַחַהּ מִן בְּנֵהּ וּמִן בִּיתָהּ וּמִן פִּיתַחַהּ וְלֹא תִיתַחֲזֵן לָהּ לֹא בְּחֵלְמָא [---] | 9 | her doorway, from her children, and from her house, and from her doorway, and do not appear to them, neither by dream [---] |
| [---] וְלֹא בִימְקוּמָהּ בְּשׁוּם מַתּ מִן מִן אַבְרַחְגִּיהּ יִט יִט יִס יִס טַטְט זִז [---] | 10 | [---] nor when they get up. By the name of <i>nomina barbara</i> [---] |
| [---] צְבִירוֹת יוֹרְגָא אִיּוֹרְבָא צְבִירוֹת צְבִירוֹת יוֹרְבָא יוֹרְגָא אִמֵּן אִמֵּן ס[לה] | 11 | [---] <i>nomina barbara</i> Amen, Amen, Se[lah]. |



JBA 43 (MS 2053/193)

180 × 60 mm. Semi-formal hand. The rim is chipped. The writing is mostly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle, and there appears to be a circle in the centre.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the variation of spelling between 'ysqwpt (l. 3) and 'ysqwpth (l. 9), with the former showing a partial assimilation of the *samekh* to the emphatic *qoph*.

Clients: [---] son of Sama; Bat-Nanay, his wife.

| | | | |
|--|----|--|--|
| [---] | 1 | [---] | |
| דלילית[א --- ד] וְרָנִי לִילִיתָא | 2 | of lilith[s --- of] the lilith Zarnay, | |
| דשריָא עָל [---] וְעַל {x} אִצְקוֹפֹת | 3 | who resides upon [---] and upon the threshold of | |
| בת נא[נאי, his] w[ife ---] דרדקִי בשוקי | 4 | Bat-Na[nay, his] w[ife ---] children in the streets | |
| ובביריתָא [---] בְּמִן[ו] וְ[נ]ית[יה דסקרוס] גִּי בְרָא דהוא | 5 | and in the alleys [--- and] by the l[a]n[ce] of the [mi]ghty Siqaros, who is | |
| שליט [על ---] דיכרִי וְלִילִיתָא נִקְבָּתָא הא כְּתָבִית | 6 | ruler [over ---] male [---] and female liliths. Behold, I write | |
| ליכי גִּיט[א] וְהָא פטריִת יתיכי כמה דכת[בִּין] שִׁידִי גִיטִי וְהָבִין לינש[י] הִון [ותוב לא הדרין] עֲלֵיהֶון | 7 | to you a de[ed of divor]ce, and be[hold, I release you, just as demons wri]te de[eds of divorce and] give (them) to their wive[s and they do not come back again] unto them. | |
| הא ק[בי] לי מוֹמִת[ת] כִּי וקדחִי ו[---] בר סָמָא ומן | 8 | Behold, ac[ce]pt your adjura[tion] and flee and [---] son of Sama, and from | |
| איצקופֹת בת נאנִי אית[תיה ---] וְמִן קִינִינָה ומן שבע איסקופֹת[תה --- הלין] מילי ואבר | 9 | the threshold of Bat-Nanay, [his] wif[e ---] and from her property, and from [her] seven threshol[d[s --- these] words, and transgresses | |
| על הדא [---] נִיפִקָא כי ארְ[א] וניצטרי כִּי בִינִי אִ [---] כִּי מנחשא וניזיל קליה בגיגִלי [---] שבע שאור [---] מן | 10 | against this [---] may he bu[rst] like a bay tr[ee and be split open] like a ta[mari]sk [---] like a diviner, and may his voice go into the sphere[s ---] the seven(th) Sheol [---] from | |
| יומא דין [י]ומא [דין] וְלֵ[עלם] אִמֵּן אִמֵּן סְלֵה | 11 | this day and for [ever]. Amen, Ame[n], Selah. | |

4–5. *drdqy bšwqy wbyryt*: “children in the streets and in the alleys”. The standard formula reads something like *drdqy wdrdqy* “boys and girls” (e.g. JBA 30:10). The terms *šwqy* and *byryt* comprise a fixed word-pair in JBA (*DJBA*, 206), and also occur as a pair in Akkadian and Mandaic in reference to places where demons attack (Müller-Kessler 1999–2000, 304–305). Cf. also AMB Bowl 13:19 (Naveh and Shaked 1985, 202–203) and MS 2053/149:4.

9. *šb'ysqwpth*: “her seven thresholds”; cf. MSF Bowl 15:7 (Naveh and Shaked 1993, 115).

9–10. For this spell, cf. MS 1927/62:9–10 and MS 2053/201:9–10; cf. also Montgomery 6:11–12, and Geller B:13 (Geller 1980, 52–53).



JBA 44 (MS 2053/213)

160 × 65 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded.

Beneath the image (see below), it is possible to discern an *'aleph* on the right and *he* on the left.

Linguistic and orthographic features: There are various cases of a non-standard use of *'aleph*. The scribe twice writes *šyd'*, as in Syriac, for *šydy* (ll. 1 and 5). Final *-ī* is twice written *-y'*, as in Mandaic: *ytyky'* for *ytyky* (l. 4) and *qdh'y'* for *qdh'y* (l. 5). Note also *yw'm'* for *ywm'* (l. 5; cf. l. 8) and *tt'hwn* apparently for *tthwn* (l. 5; cf. JBA 38:6 and JBA 62:6). Final *'aleph* is irregularly omitted in *lwtt* (l. 7) and appears to be irregularly added in *zwyt' byth* (l. 6). Note also *”* for *h'* or *h-* (l. 4).

Clients: [---] son of Aḥata; Yaya or Ḥayya daughter of Aya or Aywi.

Image: There is a large, frontal, standing figure that is human and looks feminine. Her head and chest are in the centre of the bowl, but her body stretches towards the rim and interrupts the text. Her arms are stretched out and her hands are raised to the sides of her head. She has a female chest expressed by two circles. She is wearing a long tunic, a wide belt decorated with vertical stripes, a round tasseled apron and sandals on her feet. Her arms are very long and stripy. Her right hand has five curved fingers while her left hand has three. Her legs consist of thin lines. Seven straight lines proceed upwards from the top of her head. Her face is square and contains two circles for eyes either side of a vertical line indicating her nose. She is bound by square bars on her legs. Her neck and arms are also bound together by a rod and chain. Another pair of bound arms proceeds from her chest.

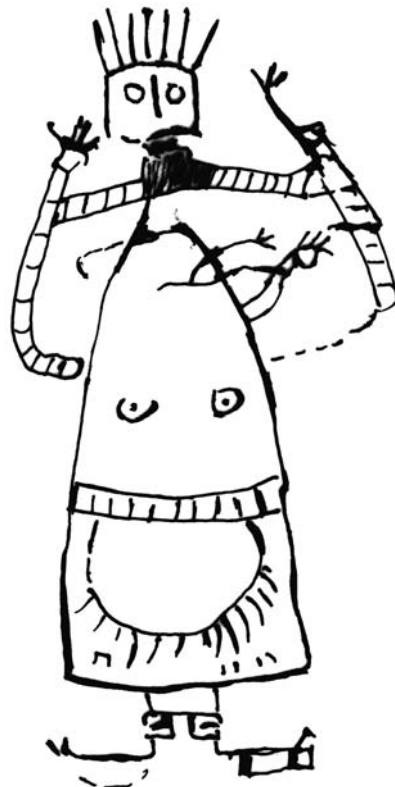


Fig. 13: Artist's impression of image from JBA 45.

- 8 מן נידרא ומן פתכרי ומן אשתקופתא ומן מבכלתא ומן נולא
ומן גברא ומן אתתא לא בימם ולא ב[ל]יליא מן יומא דין
ולעלם אמן אמן סלה from the vow demon, and from idol spirits, and from
the blow demon, and from the *mevakkalta* demon,
and from the tormentor, and from man and from
woman, neither during the daytime nor during the
[n]ight, from this day and for ever. Amen, Amen,
Selah.
- 9 יה יה יה יה להים Yah Yah Yah, *yyh* (E)lohim.

neighbour", *še'ētu* "(female) neighbour", and *tārû* "(male) nurse" in collocation as possessors of evil eyes (text and translation following Geller 2004a, 54–56): [...] *e-nu e-nu lem* [...] '*a'-a-bat* [*e-na*]-*a[t ...]* '*e'-nu a-ša-t[a e-n]u* '*nam-rî'-ri šá* LÚ.*'KÚR.RA'(nakri)* [*e-n*]-*a-at* '*a-bi'* *e-na-at* AMA(*ummi*) [*e-n*]-*a-at* ŠEŠ(*aḥi*) *e-na-at* NIN(*aḥāti*) '*e'-na-at še-'e e-na-at še-'e-ti'* *e-na-at ta-re-e na-ši-te* "[...] the eye is an eye which is ev[il ...] is hostile, the eyes of [...], the eye which emerges is the [ey]e of the terror of the enemy; (namely) the eyes of father, the eyes of mother, the eyes of brother, the eyes of sister, the eyes of a neighbour, the eyes of a (female) neighbour, the eyes of one who cares for or carries (a child)".

8. *nwl*: "tormentor"; perhaps < *nwwl* "to disgrace, disfigure" (*DJBA*, 735); cf. Mand. *niula* (*MD*, 297–298). It is probably unrelated to the demon *n'p*.



JBA 45 (MS 2053/237)

160 × 60 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded. Linguistic and orthographic features: The form of the 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. with final *yodh* in *ḥtynty* (l. 9) is noteworthy (see Juusola 1999, 80).

Clients: Drakhtaq son of Mat-Yišu; Mat-Yišu daughter of Bat-Sahde (same family in JBA 24).

Biblical quotation: Deut 28:57.

- | | | |
|---|----|---|
| א[ל]אִסּוּרָא ב[גדנא] רַבָּה מַלְכֶהוֹן דְּדִיּוּ וּשְׁלִיטָא | 1 | E[l]isur Ba[gdana], the great one, the king of <i>dēvs</i> and the great |
| רַבָּה דְּלִילִית[א] אַטּוּל סַגְנַת לִילִיתָא | 2 | ruler of lil[ith]s [---] because of the lilith Sagnat. |
| אֲשַׁבְּעִית {אֲשַׁבְּעִי[ת]} עֲלֵיךְ חַבְלָס לִילִיתָא בַּת בִּרְתָּא דִּזְרַנִּי לִילִיתָא | 3 | I beswear [yo]u, the lilith Ḥablas, granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay, |
| דְּשִׂרְיָא עַל אִסְכּוּפַת בֵּיתָהּ דְּדִרְכַּתְק בֶּר מַתִּישׁוּ וִידְמַתִּישׁוּ בַּת בַּתְסַהֲדִי | 4 | who resides upon the threshold of the house of Drakhtaq son of Mat-Yišu and of Mat-Yišu daughter of Bat-Sahde, |
| וּמַחִיא וּטְרַפָּא דְּעֶרְדִּיקִי וְדְּעֶרְדִּיקָא אֲשַׁבְּעִית עֲלֵיךְ {ת} דְּתִימַחִין בְּטוּפֶרֶס לִילְבְּכִי וִיבִמְרוּנִיתָהּ | 5 | and strikes and smites boys and girls. I beswear you in order that you should be struck in your pericardium and by the lance |
| דְּקִתְרוּס גִּיבְרָא הָא כְּתָבִית לִיכִי גִיטִיכִי וְהָא פְטִרִית יִתִּיכִי וְהָא תִּרְכִּיכִית כְּמָא דְּכְתָבִין שִׁדִּי גִיטִי | 6 | of the mighty Qitaros. Behold, I write to you your deed of divorce, and behold, I release you, and behold, I divorce (you), just as demons write deeds of divorce |
| לִינְשִׁיהוֹן וְתוּב לֹא הִדְרִין שְׁקוּלִי גִיטִיכִי וְקִבְלִי {מְמוּמַתְכָּה} מוּמַתְכִּי וְקִדְחִי וְעִקּוּרִי וְפוּקִי מִן בֵּיתָהּ וּמִן דִּירְתָּהּ | 7 | to their wives and they do not come back again. Take your deed of divorce and accept your adjuration and flee and be annulled and go out from the house and from the dwelling |
| דְּדִרְכַּתְק בֶּר מַתִּישׁוּ וִידְמַתִּישׁוּ בַּת בַּתְסַהֲדִי מִן יוּמָא דִּין וְלְעֹלָם בְּשׁוּם מַת מַחֲץ יָד יְהוּ אֲבִרְחָגִיהּ חֲתִימַת | 8 | of D[rakh]taq son of Mat-Yišu and of Mat-Yišu daughter of Bat-Sahde from this day and for ever. By the name of <i>nomina barbara</i> you are sealed |
| בְּעִזְקַתָּהּ דְּאֵל שְׁדֵי חֲתִימַתִּי {מַתִּי} בְּעִזְקַתָּהּ דְּשִׁלְמָה מַלְכָּה בֶּר דּוּיד דְּצִיר גְּלִיף עֲלָה שׁוּם מְפּוּרֶשׁ מִשְׁשֶׁת יָמִי בְּרַאשִׁית | 9 | by the signet-ring of El Shaddai, you are sealed by the signet-ring of King Solomon son of David, on which the ineffable name is drawn (and) carved, from the six days of creation. |
| הַלְּלִיָּהּ לְשִׁמְךָ הַלְּלִיָּהּ לְמַלְכְּךָ וְתוּב אִם לֹא מְקַבְּלַת לְמוּמַתָּא אִילִין יְתוֹן עַלךְ לְוִטְתָּא דְּכְתִיבַּת בְּאוּרִיתָא וִיבְאֵלָהּ הַדְּבָרִים | 10 | Hallelujah to your name. Hallelujah to your kingdom. And again, if you do not accept these oaths, may the curses that are written in the Torah and in Deuteronomy come upon you— |

2. 'ṭwl sgnt lylyt': Cf. JNF 22:2—'mṭwl sgnt lylyt'.

9. šwm mpwrš: See the notes to JBA 16:5 and JBA 34:13.

- 11 יתקימן בכון ובשיליתָה היצאית מיבן רגלָהּ ובנה אשר תילדָּ כי
 תוכלים {בחו-} בחוסר כל בסתר {במיצ} במצור ויבמצוק אשר
 may they be fulfilled in you: "And against her
 afterbirth that comes out from between her feet, and
 against her children that she shall bear; for she shall
 eat them for want of all things secretly, in the siege
 and in the straitness, wherewith
- 12 יציק לך איבך {בישרֶע} בישערך אין ואמן אין {מ} ואמן
 your enemy shall straiten you in your gates". Yes and
 Amen. Yes and Amen.

n. ytqymn: Or *wtqymn* for *wytqymn*.

n-12. Deut 28:57. It appears that the scribe struggled with this quotation, having to correct himself three times. The false start *byšr* (l. 12) suggests that the scribe did not pronounce the *'ayin*.



JBA 46 (MS 2053/249)

180×75 mm. Elegant semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The rim is chipped.

The writing is partly faded. The text is surrounded by a circle.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of *lamed* instead of *reš* in *ṭwpls* (l. 5) and *ʿlyhwn* (l. 8)—cf. JBA 15:11, JBA 29:5, 8; note also the use of *ʿaleph* to indicate *qameš* in *mwrʿnytyh* (l. 5); the scribe usually distinguishes between *waw* and *yodh*.

Clients: Undas son of Rašewandukh; Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, his wife.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| אסותא מן שמה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך | 1 | May there be healing from heaven for Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh. |
| ותיתסי ברחמי שמה אליסור בגדנא מלכהון דשידי ושליטא | 2 | And may she be healed by the mercy of heaven. Elisur Bagdana, the king of demons and the great |
| רבה דליתא אשבעית עליכי חבטס ליליתא בת ברתה דזרני ליליתא דשריא | 3 | ruler of liliths. I beswear you, the lilith Ḥabṭas, granddaughter of the lilith Zarnay, who resides |
| על איסקופת ביתיה דיאונדאס בר רשיונדוך ועל פיתחה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך ומח[יא ו]ט[פ]א | 4 | upon the threshold of the house of Undas son of Rašewandukh, and upon the doorway of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, and stri[kes and] smi[te]s |
| דרדקי ו[דרד]קתא אשבעית עליכי דתימחיני בטופלס ליב[ביכי] ובמוראניתיה דסקרוס גיב[ר]א דהוא שליט | 5 | boys and [gir]ls. I beswear you in order that you should be struck (!) in [your] pericar[dium] and by the lance of the migh[ty] Siqaros, who is ruler |
| על שידי ע[ל] ד[וי]ע ל ליליתא הכתבית ליכי והפ[פ]רית ית[כי] כי [כ]מה דכתבין שידי גיטי לנשיהון ותוב לא הד[ר]י[ן] שְקוּלִי גִיטִיכִי | 6 | over demons, ov[er] d[ēvs and ov]er liliths. Behold, I write to you, and behold, [I] relea[se y]ou, [ju]st as demons write deeds of divorce to their wives and they do not come back again. Take your deed of divorce |
| וק[בי]ל מו[מ]ת[כי וק]דח[י] ועיקורי ופוקי מן ביתיה ומן [דירתיה] דמהדוך בת ניונדוך מן פיתחה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך [אינתתיה ול]א תיתחזן ל[הון] | 7 | and ac[ce]pt [your] adju[ra]tion [and f]le[e] and be annulled and go out from the house and from [the dwelling] of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, from the doorway of Mahdukh daughter of Newandu[kh], his wife, [and] do [no]t appear to [them], |
| [לא ב---] דליליא [ולא בחיל] מא דִיממה ולא בשינתהון ולא בעלילהון ולא במישכבהון ולא בימקומהון בשום מת מת מן מן אברח[ג]יה יט [---] | 8 | [neither by ---] of night [nor by dre]am of day, and neither during their sleep nor during their waking, and neither when they lie down nor when they get up. By the name of <i>nomina barbara</i> [---] |
| [---] טטט זוז ססס [דצ]יר גלִיף עלוהי שם מפורש מיששית ימי בראשית הללויה לשמך הללויה למלכותך צבירות צבירות יורג[א] יורבא צבירות צבי[ר]ות יורבא | 9 | [---] <i>nomina barbara</i> on [wh]ich the ineffable name is [dr]awn (and) carved, from the six days of creation. Hallelujah to your name. Hallelujah to your kingdom. <i>nomina barbara</i> |

7. The first occurrence of the name “Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh” is an error for “Undas son of Rašewandukh”.

- 10 יִזְרְגָא שְׁ[כּוּבִית שְׁכוֹ] בְּנִית דְּ[נִסְבָּא] בְּנִי מִן נִשְׁ[יָא קִ] לִיָּא
 [יִתְהִי] וְזִן וְשִׁתִּיא מִן חִלְבִּיהָ [יִ] וְזִן בְּ[ת] טַטְתָּ לִילִיתָא סְכוּרִיָּי מִן
 מַהְדּוּךְ בֵּת נִיּוּדוּךְ וְלֹא תִישְׁתִּין מִן [חִלְ] בָּהּ וְלֹא תִלוּשִׁין [יִתְהִי
 בְּ] דְמִכִּי
- 11 שְׁנָא [שְׁנָא] שְׁבִיל [בְּ] יִ כְּמָה דְשְׁנִי שְׁ[י] דָּא קְדַמָּה דְהוּא בְיוּמִי
 שְׁלֵמָה מֶלֶכָא בְּ דָוִד בְּשׁוּם זִוְכְסוֹן זִוְכְסוֹן אִסְתָּ קְדוּם [טוֹ] סְ
 שִׁידִיא דְדִמְן קְבִילִי [קִיבִלָא דִנִן]
- nomina barbara* Ša[kobit the Sle]eper, who [takes away] child[r]en from wom[en (and) ro]asts [the]m, and drinks from the[i]r milk, daugh[ter of] the lilit Tasat. Shut yourself away from Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, and do not drink from her [mil]k and do not knead [it with] your blood.
- Change [yo]ur path, just as the primeval d[e]mon changed (his path), the one who was in the days of King Solomon son of David. By the name of *nomina barbara* Accept [this charm].

10. nšy' qly': "women (and) roasts"; the parallels read nšy' wqly'—cf. MS 1927/9:2–3. The traces that remain, however, appear to suggest that the *waw* was omitted.

11. The scribe appears to have written šn' twice due to the first attempt being squeezed into a small space before an imperfection in the bowl.



JBA 47 (MS 2053/258)

1.2.2.1

DIVORCE TEXTS

Elisur Bagdana (Divorce Formula not Present)

INTRODUCTION

Bowls JBA 48 and JBA 49 were written by the same scribe for the same clients. Although these bowls do not contain the divorce theme, they open with the same reference to Elisur Bagdana as those in I.2.2, and are, therefore, appended to this chapter. It is almost certain that JBA 61 (I.2.4) was written for the same clients, but apparently by a different scribe.

These texts partly parallel MS 2053/27. They finish, rather abruptly, with a series of threats to the demons: “And if you do not go out, I will bring against you the evil and severe angels who will oppose you, I will bring against you **ḥwd whd zq’ zq’**, who is in the great mountain of Horeb, I will beswear against you the evil and severe angels that were sent against demons and against *dēvs* to slaughter them, I will send against you the angel Hafkiel ... against Sodom and against Gomorrah” (JBA 48:8–10, JBA 49:6–8). Each of the threats is written using a ptc. (**mytyn’**, **qymyn**, **mšb’n’**, **mšdrn’**). The use of the impf. **’yty** instead of the ptc. **mytyn’** in the parallel context in MS 2053/27:8, however, coupled with the frequent use of the ptc. in JBA to express the future tense (cf. Schlesinger 1928, 40), permits us to translate them in this way.

The abruptness with which the texts finish suggests that the spells were continued on other bowls—cf. JNF 271 and JNF 272, which share a number of parallels with these texts, and are themselves part of what was probably a four-bowl set.

Parallels for this formula, outside the Schøyen Collection, include: CAMIB 44A; JNF 97, JNF 271, JNF 272 (a new edition of CAMIB 44A will be published by Ford).

157 × 65 mm. Semi-formal hand. The rim is chipped. The writing is partly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the spelling **-yh** of the 3 p. fem. sg. pron. suffix in **dyšmyh** (l. 7).

Clients: Narse son of D[uday] (?); Hormizdukh daughter of Qaqay; Gaday and Qaqay children of Hormizdukh.

Image: In the centre, there is a frontal, standing figure. By her long hair we can identify the figure as a female. Two curly stripes go along her body, from the neck down to the ankles. Her hair is long and straight, and consists of two lines on each side of her head. On the head six rectangular protrusions are seen, which may be a schematic representation of a crown. The hands are very thin and are in a crossed position on the chest. The face is wide, with two big eyes either side of a rectangular nose. Beneath the nose, there are two straight horizontal lines that probably represent the mouth. The feet appear to be bound.



Fig. 14: Artist's impression of image from JBA 48.

- 1 אומיתִי [ו]א[ש]בעית עלך אנתה אליסור בגדנא מלכא I adjure [and] be[sw]ear you, you, Elisur Bagdana, the king
- 2 דדיי וש[ליטא רב]א דליליתא דתיית ותיכוס ותִיקטֹול ית שידא בד[י]שא of *dēvs* and the [great] ru[ler] of liliths, in order that you may come and slaughter and kill the e[v]il demon
- 3 וית מבכלתא בישתא וית לוטתא בישתא דאית בהד[ין] בִיתִיה דנרסי בר ד[ודי] and the evil *mevakkalta* demon and the evil curse demon that are in th[is] house of Narse son of D[uday]
- 4 ודהורמזדוך ב[ת] קאקי וגדאי ודקאק בני הורמזדוך בשום [---] שם[יה] חקר[ין] ק[ר]ן ל[ה] and of Hormizdukh [daugh]ter of Qaqay, and (of) Gaday and of Qaqay children of Hormizdukh. By the name of [---] is [his] name, they [c]all [him] *hqr[yn]*.
- 5 בהדין שמא רבא ד[מ]לך יהוה צבאות מ[ד]כרנא עלך שידא בישא זח[ז]ח אמרנא לה ופוק פוק משבענא By this great name of the [k]ing YHWH Sabaoth, I re[c]ite against you, evil demon, “Depart! De[part]!”, I say to you (!), and “Go out! Go out!”. I beswear
- 6 לך אשמדי שידא בישא ואלך לִילִי [ליליתא] אבוד ידענא לה ואימך מסברנא בה אבוד ידענא לה {ואמיד} ארספינא you, Ashmedai, the evil demon, and you, Lili, [the lilith]. I know your father, and I comprehend your mother. I know your father, *’rspyn’*
- 7 שמ[ה] מ[ק]ינא דשידא [בר] פֻעִיל ואימך מסברנא בה דישימיה אגור[תא] בת מִגְ[ורתא] פוק ואיתרחק מן is [his] name, from [the family] of Šeda [son of] *p’ył*, and I comprehend your mother, whose name is *’gwr[t’]* daughter of *mg[wrt’]*. Go out and be far away from
- 8 ביתיה ומן מדורתיה דנרסי בר [דודי] ודהורמזדוך בת קאקי וכל בניה ואם לא תיפקון מיתניא עליכון מלאכי ביש the house and from the dwelling of Narse son of [Duday] and of Hormizdukh daughter of Qaqay and all his children. And if you do not go out, I will bring against you the evil and severe
- 9 ותקיפי דקימין לקובליכון מיתניא עֵל[יכון] חוד וחד זקא זקא דיהוא בטורא רבא דחורב משבענא עֵלִיכוֹן מלאכי ביש ותקיפי angels who will oppose you, I will bring against [you] *hwd whd zq’ zq’*, who is in the great mountain of Horeb, I will beswear against you the evil and severe angels
- 10 דאִשְׁתְּדִרוּ [על] שִׁידִי ועל [דיי] לנכסא [י]תהון משדרנא עליכון הפ[כ]אל מלאכיה that were sent [against] demons and against [*dēvs*] to slaughter them, I will send against you the angel Haf[k]iel.

3. d[wdy]: The lacuna appears to be too long for the proposed reconstruction, with space for an additional two letters.

4. hqr[yn]: Cf. MS 2053/27:2.

5. lh: Error for lk (cf. MS 2053/27:3).

7. šm[h] ... šmyh: The scribe may have inversed the pron. suffixes.



JBA 48 (MS 2053/200)

157 × 60 mm. Semi-formal hand. The writing is mostly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the spelling **-yh** of the 3 p. fem. sg. pron. suffix in **dšmyh** (l. 6). Clients: Nar[se] son of Duda; Hor[mizdukh].

Image: There appears to have been a drawing in the centre, perhaps of a standing figure, but it is almost completely erased.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>אומית עלך ואשב[עית] עלך אנתה [אליסור בגד] נא [מלכא] דד[וי] ושלט[א] רב[א]</p> <p>[דלילתא ד] תיתי ותיכ[וס] ותיקטול ית [שידא בישא וית] מבכלתא [בישתא] וית לוטתא ביש[תא]</p> <p>דאית בה[די] בית[יה ד] נר[סי] ב[ר] דודי[ו] ודודי[ו] מזידוד [---] בשום חקר שמה[ו] וח[קרין] קרין</p> <p>לה ב[ה] דין שמה רבא דמלך [יהוה צבא] ות מדכרנא ע[לך] [---] ז[ח] זח אמרנא ל[ך] ופוק[ך] פוק משבע[נא לך א] שם[די]</p> <p>מלכא דיו ושידא בישא ואלך לילי ליליתא אבוד ידענא [לה] ואימדי[ך] מ[ס] ב[רנבה] אבוד ידענא [---] מקינא</p> <p>דשידא בר פעיל ואימדי מסברנבה דשמי[ה] אגו[רת] א[בת] מג[ור] ת[א] [---] ביתיה [---] ב[ר] דודי ואם לא</p> <p>תיפקון מיתנא [עלך] עליכון [מלכי] מלכא בישא ותיקיפי דקימין לקובליכ[ון] מ[יתנא] עליכון [חוד] [---] זקא דיהא בטור[א] רבה דחורב</p> <p>משבענא עליכון [מלכא] י[ב] ש[י] ותיקיפי [דא] שתד[ר] ו על שד[י] ועל דיוי לנכסי יתה[ון] מ[שד] רנא עליכון הפכיא [---] על סדום ועל [ל] עמורא</p> | <p>1 I adjure you and [I] beswe[ar] you, you, [Elisur Bagda]na, [the king] of d[ēvs and] the great [ruler]</p> <p>2 [of liliths, in order that] you may come and slaugh[ter] and kill [the evil demon and] the [evil] mevakkalta demon and the evi[l] curse demon</p> <p>3 that are in t[hi]s hous[e of] Nar[se] so[n of] Duda and Hor[mizdukh ---] By the name of h[qr] is his name, and they call him</p> <p>4 h[qr]. By [t]his great name of the king [YHWH Saba]oth, I recite aga[inst you ---], "De[part]! Depart!", I say to [you, and "Go out!] Go out!". [I] beswear [you, A]shme[dai],</p> <p>5 the king (of) dēvs, and the evil demon, and you, Lili, the lilith. I know your father, [and I] co[m]pre[hend your mother]. I know your father [---] from the family</p> <p>6 of Šeda son of p'yl, and I comprehend your mother, whos[e] name is [gw]rt['] daughter of mg[wr]t['] --- the house [---] son of Duda. And if you do not</p> <p>7 go out, I will bring against you the evil and severe angels who will oppose yo[u, I will] br[ing] against [you] hwd [---] zq', who is in the great mountain of Horeb,</p> <p>8 I will beswear against yo[u] the e[v]il and severe ang[el]s [that we]re sen[t] against demon[s and against dēvs] to slaughter th[em, I will s]en[d against you] (the angel) Hafkiel [---] against Sodom and aga[inst] Gomorrah</p> <p>9 [---]</p> |
|--|--|

5. **mlk' dywy**: For **mlk' ddywy**. The **d** of the relative pronoun has probably assimilated to the **d** of **dywy**. See Morgenstern and Ford (forthcoming), note to no. 66.



JBA 49 (MS 2053/270)

I.2.3

DIVORCE TEXTS

The Lilith Zany, the Fornicating Singing-Girl

INTRODUCTION

The texts in this section make use of the divorce device for causing demons to depart from the house of the clients, referring to the figure of **zny zmrt' znyt' lylyt' ...** “Zanay, the fornicating singing-girl, the lilith ...”. The latter expression, in addition to comprising a play on the name Zanay, alludes to the sexual aspect of liliths in general, who were believed to violate their victims in their sleep. It also suggests that the professional singing woman was associated with immoral sexual behaviour. Cf. Mand. **zamarta** “singing-girl, whore”, which is often used in the phrase **zanita uzamarta** (*MD*, 159; see also Levene 2003a, 53, and JNF 77:9–10). Zanay is said to perform “sorcery”, which suggests an association of evil magical acts with loose sexual morals.

Four of the texts also refer to a pair of demons called **dnhyš** “Danaḥiš” and **rwny** “Roni” (JBA 50:3, JBA 52:3, JBA 53:2 and JBA 54:3; see also JBA 60:11); see Ford 2006, 209. Several texts from the Schøyen Collection are specifically directed against the latter demon.

The formula includes the phrase **d'm tyhwyyn rš' wšlyt' bnpšyky lkl 'ynš dytšbyn** “in order that if you may have authority and power over yourself to any man that you wish”. This phrase derives from the section of the divorce formula that releases the woman from the authority and household of her husband, thus allowing her to remarry: **dy thwyyn rš'h wšlyt' h bnpšyky lmhk lhtnsb' lkl gbr dy tšbyyyn** “in order that you may have authority and power over yourself to go (and) to be married to any man that you desire” (see Assaf 1930, 18). The use of the conditional particle **'m** in the magic formula, therefore, is unexpected. It is possible that, at some stage, a verb has been omitted, e.g. **d'm tšbyn tyhwyyn rš'** “in order that, if you wish, you may have authority” etc. Cf. JBA 55:5–6, which has a similar phrase without the problematic **'m**.

Among the *nomina barbara* that occur towards the end of the incantations, we find **'grryps 'gryps** (e.g. JBA 51:8). These names are reminiscent of the fairly common **'grypt** (e.g. JBA 61:5 and JBA 63:8), on which see Scholem 1980/1, 267.

Parallels for this formula, outside the Schøyen Collection, include M 103 and M 119. See Levene 2003a, 51–62, which includes an edition of JBA 51 and JBA 53, as well as a discussion of this formula. The bowls in this section, as well as M 103, M 119 and M 121, were all written for the same client, Immi daughter of Qaqay, probably by the same scribe. In M 121 (Levene 2003a, 81–82), she is said to be the wife of Aḥi son of Maḥlafta.

175×70 mm. Semi-formal hand. The rim is chipped. The writing is partly faded. The text is surrounded by a circle. Two of the names invoked in l. 11 are enclosed in a cartouche.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of **-yh** rather than **-h** for the 3 p. fem. sg. poss. pron. suffix in **dylyh** (l. 7), **hybrtyh** (l. 7), and **bytyh** (l. 9).

Client: Immi daughter of Qaqay.

- | | | |
|--|----|--|
| <p>הַדִּין גִּטָּא דְּלִילִיתָא דְּלִיטָתָא [א די כתבי]ת לה לאימי [ב]תָּ קָא[ק]י</p> | 1 | T[h]is is the deed of divorce of the accurse[d] lilith, [which] I [have written] for Immi [daug]hter of Qa[qa]y, |
| <p>[ו]כָּל שׁוּם דְּאִית לָהּ תִּיטָסִי תִינְטָרִי מִן [כל מי]עָם [ביש] מן פְּגָעָה[ה]</p> | 2 | [and] any name that she has. May she be healed (and) pr[otected] (!) from [every evil th]ing, from [the] affliction demon, |
| <p>[מ]ן סְטִנָּא מִן רוּחָא בִישְׁתָּא מִן פֶּת[כרי ופתכר]תָּא מִן דְּנַחֲשִׁי [רוני] מִן אִיס[ת]רָא</p> | 3 | [from] the satan, from the evil spirit, from male idol [spirits and female idol spi]rits, from Danahiš, [(from) Roni], from the [up]per |
| <p>[ע]י[לִיטָא תתי]תָּה מִן מַלְלָתָא מִן לוֹט[תא ד]יְהוֹ[ד]אִי מִן לוֹטָא דְּאַרְמָאִי מִן לוֹטָא רַחִיקָא</p> | 4 | (and) lower female [spi]rit, from the (magic) word, from [the] curs[e of] Je[w]s, from the curse of [Aramaean], from the distant curse], |
| <p>[מ]ן לוֹטָא א קְרִיבְתָּא מִן קְרִיתָא מִן [נ]ידְרָא מִן אִיסוּרִי מִן כָּל עוֹבְדֵי[ין] בִּישְׁיָן מִן כָּל רוּחָא</p> | 5 | [from] the near [curse], from mishap, from the [v]ow, from spells, from all evil magical act[s], from every [ev]il, |
| <p>[ביש]תָּא עֲזִיזָא תְּקִיפָא מִן חֲרָשִׁי מַעֲבָדֵי מִן חֲרָשִׁי דְּזָנִי ז[מ]ר[תָּא זנ]יָתָא א לִילִיתָא</p> | 6 | strong (and) severe spirit, from sorcery (and) magical acts, from the sorcery of Za[nay, the fornicat]ing [sin]gi[ng]-girl, the lilith |
| <p>{דְּשִׁרְיָה} דְּמַקְטִילָא בְּנֵי דִילִיָּה בְּנֵי דְּחִיבְרִיתָה דָּאם {י} תִּיהוּן רָאשָׁא וּשְׁלִיטָא [א ב]נְפִשְׁכֵּי לְכָל</p> | 7 | who massacres her own children (and) the children of her companions. In order that if you may have authority and powe[r over] yourself to any |
| <p>אִינֶשׁ דִּיתְצִבִּין דִּיכְתָּבִית לִיכִי גִטָּא גִיט פִּטְוִרִין מִן אִימִי בַת קָאקִי כָּל שׁוּם דְּאִית לִיכִי מוֹמֵנָא מְשַׁבְּעָא</p> | 8 | man that you wish, for I have written to you a deed of divorce (and) a deed of release from Immi daughter of Qaqay, (and) any name that you have. I adjure (and) beswear |
| <p>לִיכִי אַנְתִּי זָנִי זְמֵרְתָּא זְנִיתָא לִילִיתָא דְּשִׁרְיָה בְּבִיתָה דְּאִימִי בַת קָאקִי [י] אִם [ד]כָּר אִם נִקְבָּה בְּשִׁמְיָה דְּגַבְרִיאֵל</p> | 9 | you, you, Zanay, the fornicating singing-girl, the lilith who resides in the house of Immi daughter of Qaqa[y], whether [m]ale or female. By the name of the angel |
| <p>מִלְּאכָה אַחִיאל מִלְּאכָה מְשַׁמְשִׁיאל מִלְּאכָה נְדָרְיאל מִלְּאכָה יְחוּס יְחִישׁ אַחִישָׁא אֲ[ג]רִיפָס אַתִּיתָ [א]בְּשֵׁת אַתְּבִישָׁא אַתִּיתָא</p> | 10 | Gabriel, the angel Aḥiel, the angel Mešamšiel, the angel Nadriel <i>nomina barbara</i> |

7. dšryh dmqtlP: The first ptc. has probably been written erroneously due to its occurrence following the same phrase in l. 9 (cf. JBA 52:7).

- 11 אנתיאל אבש בשסתא סתריאל שדי' של' עון] בזיף בשום יד יהוה צבאות בַּמְלָכּוּתִיָּה דַּבְרָחַס אַנִּינִיֵּל יָהּ בְּשׁוֹם *nomina barbara* By the name of Yad YHWH Sabaoth, by the kingdom of Abrahas, Aniniel, Yah. By the name of
- 12 שֶׁר רוּחָא בְּשׁוֹם אַבוּהִי דַּאֲבַסְכַּס סְרָא אֲמֵן אֲמֵן סְלָה חַתְמָא דְּגִיטָא יָהּ שְׁמִיָּה the guardian angel of the spirit. By the name of the father of Absakas, the guardian angel. Amen, Amen, Selah. The seal of the deed of divorce: Yah is his name.

¹¹ *yd*: The reading *yh* appears to be less likely in this case, but remains possible (cf. JBA 61:2).



JBA 50 (MS 2053/207)

169 × 75 mm. Semi-formal hand. The writing is partly faded. The names invoked in ll. 7–9 are enclosed in a cartouche.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of **-yh** rather than **-h** for the 3 p. fem. sg. poss. pron. suffix in **dylyh** (l. 5), **bytyh** (ll. 6 and 7) and **bnyh** (l. 6).

Client: Immi daughter of Qaqay.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| הדין גיטא דליליתא דליטתא דיכתבית לה לאימי בת קאקי כל שום דאית | 1 | This is the deed of divorce of the accursed lilith, which I have written for Immi daughter of Qaqay, (and) any name that she |
| לה תינטרי תיתסי ברחמי שמיא מן פגעה מן סטנא מן ליליתא מן חייטנא דיפתכרי ופתכרתא | 2 | has. May she be protected (!) (and) healed by the mercy of heaven from the affliction demon, from the satan, from the lilith, from the harm of male idol spirits and female idol spirits, |
| מן חייטנא דיאסתרא עיליתא תתיתא מן מללתא מן לוטתא דיהודאי מן לוטתא דארמאי מן לוטתא | 3 | from the harm of the upper (and) lower female spirit, from the (magic) word, from the curse of Jews, from the curse of Aramaeans, from the [dis]tant |
| [רחי]קתא מן לוטתא קריבתא מן קריתא מן גידרא מן איס[ו]רי מן כל עובדין בישין מן [כ]ל רוחא [בישתא עז]זיתא | 4 | curse, from the near curse, from mishap, from the vow, from spe[ll]s, from all evil magical acts, from [ev]ery [evil, st]rong (and) severe |
| תקיפתא מן חרשי מעבדי מן חרשי דוני זמרתא זניתא וליליתא דמ[ק]טלא בנ[י] דיליה בנ[י] דחברתיה [דאם תיהוין ראשא | 5 | spirit, from sorcery (and) magical acts, from the sorcery of Zanay, the fornicating singing-girl, and the lilith who ma[ss]acres her own children (and) the child[ren of her companions]. In order that if you may have authority |
| שליטא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דיתצבין די[ת]כתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פטורין מן הדא אימי בת קאקי מן ביתיה מן בניה וכל שום דאית | 6 | (and) power over yourself to any man that you wish, for I have written to you a deed of divorce (and) a deed of release from this Immi daughter of Qaqay, from her house, from her children, and any name that you |
| ליכי מומנא משבענא ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא זניתא ליליתא דשריה בביתיה דאימי בת קאקי אם דכר אם ניקבה בשמיה [ד]גבריאל מלאכה אחיאל | 7 | have. I adjure (and) beswear you, you, Zanay, the fornicating singing-girl, the lilith who resides in the house of Immi daughter of Qaqay, whether male or female. By the name [of] the angel Gabriel, the angel |
| מלאכה משמשיאל מלאכה נדיראל מלאכה יחוס יחיש אחישא אגריפס אגריפס אתית אבשת אתבישא אתיאל אתיאל אנתיאל אבש בשסתא סתריאל שדי | 8 | Aḥiel, the angel Mešamšiel, the angel Nadiriel <i>nomina barbara</i> |

2. **tyntry**: Probably an error for **tyntr**.

8. **'ty'l**: The reading **'wny'l** is also possible. The parallels lack a corresponding word, which may suggest that this word is an error for the following **'tyty'l**.

שלעון בזיף בשמיה דיהוה צבאות במלכותיה דאברחס
 אניניאל יה בשום שר רוחא בשום אבוהי דאבסכס
 סרא אמן אמן סלה חתמא דגיטא יה שמיה

9 *nomina barbara* By the name of YHWH Sabaoth, by the kingdom of Abrahas, Aniniel, Yah. By the name of the guardian angel of the spirit. By the name of the father of Absakas, the guardian angel. Amen, Amen, Selah. The seal of the deed of divorce: Yah is his name.

10 אמן אמן סלה Amen, Amen, Selah.

9. ⁹bsks: The last two letters are written following a gap due to an imperfection in the surface of the bowl.



JBA 51 (MS 2053/209)

110×47 mm. Semi-formal hand. The writing is partly faded.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of **-yh** rather than **-h** for the 3 p. fem. sg. poss. pron. suffix in **dylyh** (l. 7), **hbrtyh** (l. 7), and **bytyh** (l. 10); note also the use of a lengthened *waw* to differentiate it from *yodh* in **tyhwyyn** (l. 8).

Client: Immi daughter of Qaqay.

| | | |
|--|----|--|
| הדין גיטא דלילתא דליטתא דיכתבית לה | 1 | This is the deed of divorce of the accursed lilit, which I have written for |
| לאימי בת קאק' כל שום ד'אי' לה תיתסי תינטרי מן | 2 | Immi daughter of Qaqay, (and) any name that she [ha]s. May she be healed (and) protected (!) from |
| פגעה מן סטנה מן חייט'נא דיפ'תכרי ופ'תכרתא מן דנחיש רוני | 3 | the affliction demon, from the satan, from the harm of ma[le idol spirits and fe]male idol spirits, from Danaḥiš, (from) Roni, |
| מן איסתר'א [א] עילית'א [א] תתית'ה מן מללת'א [מן לו] טת'א דיהודאי מן לוטת'א | 4 | from the upper (and) lower female spirit, from the (magic) word, [from] the [cur]se of Jews, from the curse |
| דארמאי מ'ן לוטת'א [רחיקתא מן לוטתא קר'ב] ת'א מן קריתא מן נידרא מן | 5 | of Aramaeans, fr[om] the distant [curse], from the ne[a]r curse, from mishap, from the vow, from |
| איסור'י מן כל עובדין בישין מן כל רוחא בישתא עזוזתא תקיפתא מן חרש'י | 6 | spells, from all evil magical acts, from every evil, strong (and) severe spirit, from sorcery |
| מעבדי מן חרשי ד'ז'נ'י זמרתא זניתא ליליתא דמקטלא בני דיליה בני דחברת'יה דאם | 7 | (and) magical acts, from the sorcery of Za[na]y, the fornicating singing-girl, the lilit who massacres her own children (and) the children of her companions. In order that if |
| תיהוין ראשא' ושל' ט'א בנפשיכי לכל אינש דיתצבין דיכתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פטורין | 8 | you may have authority and p[ow]er over yourself to any man that you wish, for I have written to you a deed of divorce (and) a deed of release |
| מן הדא אימי בת ק'אק'י וכל שום דאי' לייכי מומנא משבענא ליכי אנתי זני זמרת'א [א] ז'נ'י ת'א ליליתא דשריה | 9 | from this Immi daughter of Q[aqay], and any name that you have. I adjure (and) beswear you, you, Zanay, the forni[cat]ing singing-gi[rl], the lilit who resides |
| בביתיה דאימי ב' [ת] {ננה} קאק' א'ם דכ'ר א'ם ניקב'ה בשמ'יה דגבריא'ל מלאכה משמשיאל מלאכה נד'יריא'ל מלאכה | 10 | in the house of Immi daug[hter of] Qaqay, whether male or female. By the name of the angel Gabriel, the angel Mešamšiel, the angel Nad[ir]iel, |

2. **tyntry**: Probably an error for **tyntṛ**.

8. **rš'**: The final letter is particularly difficult to read; it could be *'aleph*, *he* or *'aleph* written over *he*.

10. **'ymy bt nnh q'qy**: The scribe appears to have struggled with the client's name at this point. The initial *'aleph* appears to have been written as a correction over *yodh*, suggesting that the scribe began to write **dymy**, i.e. with an elision of *'aleph*. The scribe also appears to have originally written the wrong matronym, first giving "Nana" (cf. JBA 58) and then the correct "Qaqay".

- 11 *nomina barbara* יחוס יחיש אחישאֹ אגרריפס אגרפס אתית אבִשָּׁת אתבישא
אתיתאל אניתִיֹאלֹ אבש בשסִתֹא סתריאל
- 12 *nomina barbara* By the name of יִיִיִי Sabaoth, by the
kingdom of Abrahas, Aniniel, Yah. [By] the name of
the guardian angel of the spirit. By the name of the
father of Absakas. Amen,
שדי שלעון בשום יִיִי צבאות במלכותיה דאברִחֶסֶס אניניאל יה
[ב]שום שר רוחֶא בשום אבוהי דאבִסִכֶסֶס אמן
- 13 Amen, Amen, Selah. The seal of the deed of divorce:
Yah is his name.
אמן אמן סלה חתמא דגיטא יה שמיה

12. šl'wn: The *nun* appears to have been corrected from final *pe*. The original šl'wp may have derived from a contraction of šl'wn bzyp (cf. JBA 54:9).

yyyy: The initial *yodh* looks more like a *dalet*, but cf. the *yodh* in yḥws (l. 11).



JBA 52 (MS 2053/231)

170 × 72 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The text is surrounded by a circle. There are two small incomplete cartouches (ll. 9 and 10) that contain the word יהוה. Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of -yh rather than -h for the 3 p. fem. sg. poss. pron. suffix in *dylyh* (l. 5), *ḥbrtyh* (l. 5), and *bytyh* (twice in l. 7).

Client: Immi daughter of Qaqay.

Image: In the centre of the bowl there is a frontal, standing figure. The head and body are joined together and create a rectangular shape, with a horizontal stripe separating them. The legs are a continuation of the body's lines; they turn outward and have wild toes on the feet that are not uniform. The arms emerge from the top of the head. They have short vertical stripes along them and they end with wide palms that have straight fingers proceeding in all directions. The hands are crossed and bound at the wrists. The head has short vertical hair. The face has two empty eyes with a vertical stripe between them representing the nose and a horizontal line beneath representing the mouth. The signs on the chest and stomach are not clear. The triangular shape at the bottom of the pelvis is symbolic of male genitals.

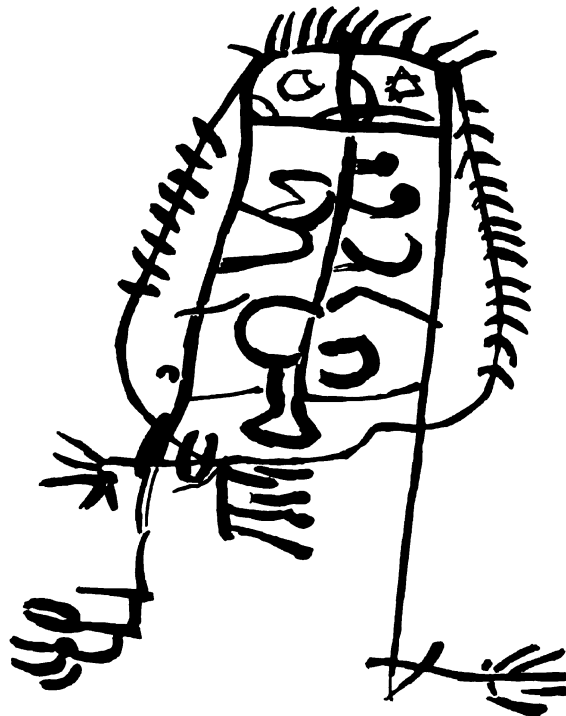


Fig. 15: Artist's impression of image from JBA 53.

- 1 לשמך אני עושה הדין גיטא דיכתבית לה לאימי בת קאקי וכל שום דאית לה תיחסי
By your name I act. This is the deed of divorce that I have written for Immi daughter of Qaqay, and any name that she has. May she be healed
- 2 תינטרי מן כל מידעם ביש מן פגעה מן סטנא מן חייטנא דיפתכרי ופתכרתא מן דנחיש מן רוני
(and) protected (!) from every evil thing, from the affliction demon, from the satan, from the harm of male idol spirits and female idol spirits, from Danaḥiš, from Roni,
- 3 {אִי} מִן אִיסְתָּרָא עִילִיתָא וּמִן אִיסְתָּרָא תַחִיתָה מִן מַלְלָתָא מִן מִמִּי מִן כְּלָבָה מִן לוֹטְתָא דִּיהוּדָאִי מִן לוֹטְתָא דֶּאֱרַמְאִי
from the upper female spirit, and from the lower female spirit, from the (magic) word, from an oath (?), from a dog, from the curse of Jews, from the curse of Aramaeans,
- 4 מן לוטתא רחיקתא מן לוטתא קריבתא מן קריתא מן נידרא מן אשלמתא מן איסורי מן כל עובדין בישין מן כל
from the distant curse, from the near curse, from mishap, from the vow, from the spell, from spells, from all evil magical acts, from every
- 5 רִחָא בִישְׁתָּא עִזִּיתָא תְּקִיפָתָא מִן חֲרָשִׁי מַעֲבָדִי מִן חֲרָשִׁי דִּזְנִי זִמְרָתָא זִנִּיתָא לִילִיתָא דְּמַקְטִילָא בְּנֵי דִּילִיָּה בְּנֵי דַחְבְּרָתִיָּה
evil, strong (and) severe spirit, from sorcery (and) magical acts, from the sorcery of Zanay, the fornicating singing-girl, the lilith who massacres her own children (and) the children of her companions.
- 6 דאם תיהוין ראשאה ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דיתצבין דיכתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פטורין מן הדא אימי בת קאקי מן
In order that if you may have authority and power over yourself to any man that you wish, for I have written to you a deed of divorce (and) a deed of release from this Immi daughter of Qaqay, from
- 7 ביתיה כולה כל שום דאית ליכי מומנא משבענא ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא זניתא ליליתא ולוטתא דשריה בביתיה דאימי בת קאקי
her whole house, (and) any name that you have. I adjure (and) beswear you, you, Zanay, the fornicating singing-girl, the lilith, and the curse demon, who resides in the house of Immi daughter of Qaqay,
- 8 אם דכר אם ניקבה בשמיה דגבריאל מלאכה אחיאל מלאכה משמישאל מלאכה נדיראל מלאכה יחוס יחיש אחישא אגריפס
whether male or female. By the name of the angel Gabriel, the angel Aḥiel, the angel Mešamšiel, the angel Nadiriel *nomina barbara*
- 9 אגריפס אתית אבשת אתבישא אתיתאל אנתיתאל אבש בשסתא סתריאל שדי שלעון בזיף בשמיה דיהוה צבאות במלכותיה
nomina barbara By the name of YHWH Sabaoth, by the kingdom
- 10 דאברחס אניניאל יה בשום שר רוחא בשום אבוה[י] דאבסכס סרא אמן אמן סלה חתמא דגיטא יהוה[י] שמיה
of Abraḥas, Aniniel, Yah. By the name of the guardian angel of the spirit. By the name of the father of Absakas, the guardian angel. Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah. The seal of the deed of divorce: YHWH is his name.

2. *tyntṛy*: Probably an error for *tyntṛ*.

3. *mn mmy mn klbh*: "from an oath (?), from a dog"; cf. JNF 185:4. Incantations against actual dogs and their bites are well known from Mesopotamia. Possibly here the roaming dog has been demonised. Compare the not infrequent references to the *yṛwr*, perhaps a "jackal demon", in the magic bowls.



JBA 53 (MS 2053/253)

160×60 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The text is surrounded by a circle. Some of the names invoked in l. 9 are enclosed in an incomplete cartouche.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of **-yh** rather than **-h** for the 3 p. fem. sg. poss. pron. suffix in **dylyh** (l. 6), **hbrtyh** (l. 6), and **bytyh** (l. 7). The scribe often writes *yodh* with two strokes, particularly in final position.

Client: Immi daughter of Qaqay.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>הדין גיטא דליטתא דליטתא דִּכְתָּבִי [ל]ה לאימי בת קאק[י] כל שום</p> | 1 | This is the deed of divorce of the accursed lilit, which [I] have written for Immi daughter of Qaqay, (and) any name |
| <p>דאית לה תיתסי מן כל מידעם ביש מן פגעה מן [ס]טנא מן חיטנא דיפתכרי</p> | 2 | that she has. May she be healed from every evil thing, from the affliction demon, from the [sa]tan, from the harm of male idol-spirits |
| <p>פתכרתא מן חיטנא דאדנחיש רוני מן חיטנא דאיסתר עיליתא מן ח[י]טינא דאיסתר תתיתה</p> | 3 | (and) female idol-spirits, from the harm of Danaḥiš (and) Roni, from the harm of the upper female spirit, from the h[a]rm of the lower female spirit, |
| <p>מן מללתא ומן לוטתא דיהודאי מן לוטתא דארמאי מן לוטתא רחיקתא מן לוטתא קריבתא ומן קרייתא</p> | 4 | from the (magic) word, and from the curse of Jews, from the curse of Aramaeans, from the distant curse, from the near curse, and from mishap, |
| <p>מן נידרא מן איסורי מן כל עובדין בישין מן כל רִחָא בישתא עזיזתא תקיפתא ומן חרשי מעבדי מן חרשי דוני</p> | 5 | from the vow, from spells, from all evil magical acts, from every evil, strong (and) severe spirit, and from sorcery (and) magical acts, from the sorcery of Zanay, |
| <p>זמרתא זניתא ליטתא ליליתא דמקטלא בני דיליה בני דחברתיה דאם תיהוין ראשאה ושליתא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דיתצבין</p> | 6 | the accursed fornicating singing-girl, the lilit who massacres her own children (and) the children of her companions. In order that if you may have authority and power over yourself to any man that you wish, |
| <p>דיכתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פטורין מן הדא אימי בת קאקי מומנ[א] מ[ש]בענא ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא זניתא ליליתא דשריה בביתיה דאימי</p> | 7 | for I have written to you a deed of divorce (and) a deed of release from this Immi daughter of Qaqay. I adjure (and) be[sw]ear you, you, Zanay, the fornicating singing-girl, the lilit who resides in the house of Immi |
| <p>בת קאקי אם דכר אם ניקבה בשמיה דגבריא מלאכה אחיאל מלאכה משמשיאל מלאכה נדיריאל מלאכה יחוס יחיש אחישא אגרריפס אגרריפס</p> | 8 | daughter of Qaqay, whether male or female. By the name of the angel Gabriel, the angel Aḥiel, the angel Mešamšiel, the angel Nadiriel <i>nomina barbara</i> |

1. **dlytt' dlylytt'**: Understood as an error for **dlylyt' dlytt'** (cf. JBA 51:1, JBA 52:1, M 103:1 and M 119:1).

3. **dnhyš**: The expected form is **dnhyš** (cf. JBA 53:2).

- 9 *nomina barbara* By the name of YHWH Sabaoth, by the kingdom of Abrahā, Aninīel, Yah. By the name of the guardian angel of the spirit.
- אתית אִבְשֶׁת אתבישא אתיתיאל אנתיתיאל אבש בשסתא
 סתריאל שדי שלעון בזיף בשמיה דיהוה צבאות במלכותיה
 דאברחס אניניאל יה בשום שר רוחא
- 10 By the name of the father of Absakas, the guardian angel. Amen, Amen, Selah. The seal of the deed of divorce: Yah is his name.
- בשום אבוהי דאבסכס סרא אמן אמן סלה חתמא דגיטא יה
 שְׁמִיָּהּ



JBA 54 (MS 2053/273)

I.2.4

DIVORCE TEXTS

Other Divorce Texts

INTRODUCTION

The texts in this fourth section make use of the divorce device for causing demons to depart from the house of the clients but without referring to the figures of Joshua bar Peraḥia, Elisur Bagdana or the lilith Zanay. For the use of this device outside this chapter, see MS 2053/61 and MS 2053/188. JBA 55 seeks to expel the demon to “a desolate and waste place”, a theme that is well attested in other incantation bowls (cf., e.g., M 131:2–4, as read in Ford 2006, 210).

JBA 62 appears to contain an abbreviated version of the text typified by JBA 15 and JBA 24, albeit omitting the reference to Joshua bar Peraḥia (see the introduction to I.2.1). The scribe appears to distinguish between *waw* and *yodh*, but this not consistent, particularly when writing the 2 p. pl. pron. suffixes (e.g. *’bwkyn* “your father” but *’ymkwn* “your mother”, both in l. 3). We have transcribed all the 2 p. pl. pron. suffixes as fem. in accordance with the corresponding forms in the Mandaic parallel (1928/20), regardless of the length of the actual letter. In any case, it is possible that the scribe used the 2 p. fem. pl. and 2 p. masc. pl. pron. suffixes interchangeably. The 2 p. fem. pl. pass. ptc. forms are clearly written with *yodh* (*šlyḥtyn* “you are stripped” in l. 2 and *lbyštyn* “you are (not) clothed” in l. 3), corresponding to the forms in the Mandaic parallel (*šlihatia* “you are stripped” and *lbišatia* “you are (not) clothed”). Similarly, in JBA 64, the 2 p. pl. pron. suffixes and verbal elements in the first section (ll. 1–6) are transcribed as fem. in accordance with the expression *kl myny lylyt* “all types of liliths” (l. 1), whereas, in the second section (ll. 6–10), they are transcribed as masc. in accordance with the unambiguous 2 p. masc. pl. impf. *tyhdrwn* “you shall (not) come back” (l. 9).

JBA 57, JBA 61 and JBA 63 all contain the same basic text—additional parallels include MS 2053/61:14–19, IM 148241 (Faraj 2010, Bowl 4), JNF 182, JNF 191, JNF 257, Wolfe 1, Wolfe 2, and Wolfe 8. These bowls contain distinctive sequences of *nomina barbara*, the first beginning with *’lṭ* (or *’lyṭ* in some of the parallels) and the second beginning with *’yn* *’yn* or the like. In the second sequence, the words *syny* (JBA 57:7, JBA 61:5, JBA 63:8) are reminiscent of the names of the protagonists in the Semamit bowls and amulets (AMB Bowl 12; see Naveh and Shaked 1985, 196). The words *’hyš* *’hyšh* or the like (JBA 57:7, JBA 61:5, JBA 63:8) are perhaps based on Ps 55:9, where it means “I would hasten (my escape)”. The spell then refers to “Metatron the (or his) protector”.

The clients in JBA 63 are drawn from the same family as MS 2053/257 and MS 1929/12. All three bowls were written by the same scribe, and contain very similar images. The same scribe also wrote Wolfe 1, Wolfe 2, and Wolfe 8, which parallel JBA 63. The first clients named in JBA 63, Safray son of Anihdag and Aḥata, his wife, also occur in MS 1928/52, which is a Mandaic bowl with Christian elements. Most of the members of the family appear to have Iranian names, but the name Miriam suggests a Christian affiliation in accordance with the Christian elements in MS 1928/52. Although there are some examples of one family using bowls written in different scripts and presumably reflecting different religious affiliations, this is a rare case of one person owning bowls in both Mandaic and Jewish Aramaic. The fact that the Mandaic bowl was done for a Christian family, and that the same family also owned Jewish Aramaic bowls, may partly explain the phenomenon. As far as we can tell from their distribution, there seems to have been a relatively small number of Christian practitioners writing bowls, perhaps due to the Christian tradition not yet being fully developed or because of strong Church opposition to the practice. It is possible, therefore, that Christians had less opportunity to use their coreligionists as experts in incantations and, to a greater degree than Jews or Mandaeans, had to use the services of practitioners from other religious communities.

JBA 56 was written by the same scribe as JBA 17, JBA 19, JBA 20, M 11 and Wolfe 69 (see the introduction to I.2.1).

Other spells that occur in the bowls in this section:

All types of liliths—JBA 64:1; cf. Montgomery 1

Desolate and waste place—JBA 55:5; cf. JNF 137

Metatron his protector—JBA 61:4, JBA 63:7; cf. MS 2053/61:17, IM 148241 (Faraj 2010, Bowl 4), Wolfe 1:7, Wolfe 2:4 and Wolfe 8:7

Naked with hair dishevelled—JBA 62:2

Palḥas and Palḥadad—JBA 62:3

Seven firmaments—JBA 59:5; cf. MS 2053/254 and JNF 113

175 × 55 mm. Semi-cursive hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The rim is chipped. The text is surrounded by a circle. The names invoked in ll. 9–10 are enclosed in a cartouche.

Linguistic and orthographic features: The evil spirits in this text appear to be addressed sometimes with 2 p. fem. sg. verbal and pronominal forms (ll. 5–6a and 13b) and sometimes with 2 p. pl. verbal and pronominal forms (ll. 6b–13a). The pl. forms, if correctly interpreted, are 2 p. masc. pl. impf. **typqwn** (l. 6), **tytptrwn** (ll. 8 and 13), and **tyzlwn** (l. 13), and masc. pl. impv. **qbylw** (l. 11), **zḥ** (l. 12) and **šbwqw** (l. 13), all used as 2 p. fem. pl. forms. Paleographically, all of these forms could be interpreted as 2 p. fem. sg. forms, and in most cases the letter in question is indeed written quite short like a *yodh*, but the length of the stroke is not a dependable criterion in the present text—cf., for example, the very short *waw* in **šbw't** (l. 12). Against the interpretation of the preceding forms as 2 p. fem. sg. are the explicitly fem. pl. subj. **rwḥy byšt'** (ll. 8 and 10), the 2 p. pl. pron. suffixes (ll. 7, 8, 11 and 12), and the fem. pl. ptc. **qtln** (l. 10).

Clients: Miškoy daughter of Anušfri; Farrokhdad son of Gušnazdukh, her husband.

Biblical quotations: Ex 3:14; Ps 32:7; Ps 55:9.

Image: In the centre of the bowl, within a circle, there are two figures standing in profile and facing each other, each with an arm raised above the head. The figures look human. By their body shape, which becomes narrow at the waist, they appear to be female. They are identical, wearing short, sleeveless tunics that end above the knees. Only one arm for each figure is drawn, consisting of one line; they are depicted without hands. The legs are similarly drawn with only one vertical, narrow line, at the end of which are heavy feet. Both of the figures have round heads, each with a round frontal eye. The figures are bound together with chains that join their knees, necks and arms together.

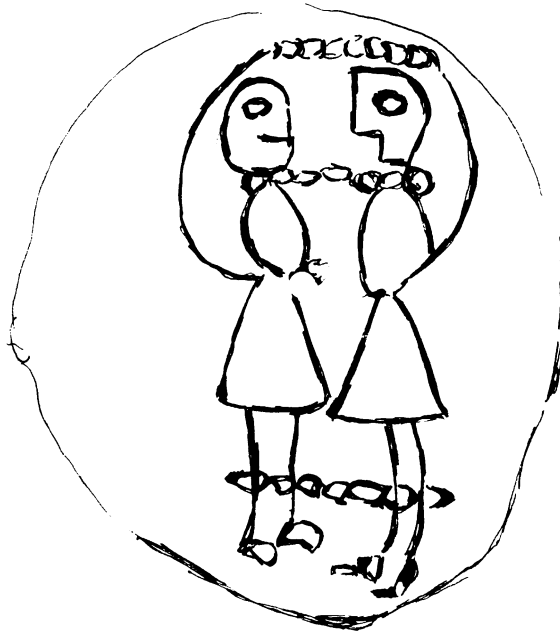


Fig. 16: Artist's impression of image from JBA 55.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | אסותא מן שמיא תיהוי לה למישכוֹ בת אנושפריִ ותי[תסי ברחמי] | May there be healing from heaven for Miškoy daughter of Anušfri. And may she [be healed by the mercy of] |
| 2 | שמיא אשבעית עליכי ליליתא בישתא ד[י]שמה רמית חגית וצמֹות בת | heaven. I beswear you, the evil lilith whose name is Ramit Ḥagigat and Šemotat daughter of |
| 3 | חרי בת בלעי באתי דהוי רומה שיתין ושבעה אמין רוחא דישמה ארגז בת קסס | Ḥari daughter of Bal'i Bati, whose height is sixty-seven cubits, the spirit whose name is Argaz daughter of Qasas, |
| 4 | רוחא דישמה אחיטפת בת קטוף רוחא דישמה רמרנפקי בת מטרִיא מ[---] רוחא | the spirit whose name is Aḥiṭafat daughter of Qaṭof, the spirit whose name is rmrnpqy daughter of Maṭaria Mi[---], the spirit |
| 5 | דישמה ציחת צחלת סגי סגי זרני ליליתא דמיתקריא פרגֹס דיתהוין ראשאָה וְשליטא | whose name is Šiḥat Šaḥalat Sagi Sagi, the lilith Zarnay, who is called Pargos, that you may have authority and power |
| 6 | בנפשכי ותיזלין לאתר צדי וחריב לאתר דאיכרא פדניה לא צמיד ורעיא עניה לא מרבע ואם לא תיפקון | over yourself and go to a desolate and waste place, to a place where the farmer does not yoke together his pair (of oxen), and the shepherd does not make his flock lie down. And if you do not go out |
| 7 | מינה מן מישכוֹ בת אנושפרי נסיבנא מן סעריכין לפכריכין ומן תרביכין לחתמיכין ושדינא לכין | from Miškoy daughter of Anušfri, I shall take some of your hair for binding you and some of your fat for sealing you, and I shall throw you |
| 8 | לעומקי ארעה תחתיתא דלית איפשר למיסק מינה ויומא דנן תריכית יתכין רוחי בישתא וליליתא דתיתפטון | to the depths of the netherworld, from which it is not possible to ascend. And this day I divorce you, evil spirits and liliths, in order that you shall be released |
| 9 | מן מישכוֹ בת אנושפרי וכל שום דאית לה בעגלא בשום יה יה יה אהיה באהיה ויה יה הויה והייה הייה רבה היה יהו יהו יד | from Miškoy daughter of Anušfri, and any name that she has, swiftly. By the name of Yah Yah Yah, "I am in I am", and Yah Yah, HWYH WHYYH, the great HYYH HYH YHW YHW Yad |

2. **rmyt**: "Ramit"; the reading is uncertain. Cf. JNF 137:2, which reads **hwnt**.

šmwtt: "Šemotat"; JNF 124:1 has **šmwtyt** "Šemotit" in a version of the Semomit story in which Šemotit is portrayed as a maleficent being (cf. AMB Bowl 12). It appears, therefore, that **šmwtt** is probably another variant of **šmmyt** / **šmwmyt**.

3. **dhwy rwmh šytn wšb'h 'myn**: "whose height is sixty-seven cubits"; cf. Gordon H:3, which should probably be read: **ndry' br klṭws dhwy' yrym qwmtyh m'h wšb'yn 'myn** "Nadria son of Kalṭos, whose body rises one hundred and seventy cubits". Cf. also JNF 137:3.

'rgz bt qss: "Argaz daughter of Qasas"; cf. Gordon H:8.

5. **šyht šhlt sgy sgy**: "Šiḥat Šaḥalat Sagi Sagi"; cf. MS 2053/61 and JNF 21, where both **šhlt** and **sgy** occur and which, contrary to their use here in reference to the same evil being, use **šhlt** for an evil beast and **sgy** as a beneficent angel. It is possible that the form in this bowl is a distortion of "Shout and cry out, 'Go! Go!'".

prgws: "Pargos"; cf. Gordon H:2 and 6.

5–6. **dytyhwyyn ... bnpšky**: See the introduction to I.2.3.

6. A similar depiction of desolation occurs in Gs 10:21–24—**man šamid padanh tauria umdabar bazira barqa man laḡiṭ karkušta b'dh umkarkiš aqnia ldibnaihun uiamuria lbaḡraihun** "Who will yoke his pair of oxen and put the seed in the ground? Who will take the sheep-bell in his hand and ring the sheep to their fold and the kids to their flock?"

pdnyh: "pair (of oxen)"; for this translation, cf. Gs 10:21–24, quoted above, and TJ 1Kgs 19:21, where **pdn twry'** renders MT **šmd hbqr** "pair of oxen".

7. Cf. MS 1927/10:6 and parallels.

9. **'hyh b'hyh**: Ex 3:14, with **b** instead of **šr**, thus paralleling the common magic name **yh byh**; cf. the note to JBA 15:9.

- 10 אה ויה אהו יה אה יוי האה ויההו יה רבה ומלאך הפנים
ארחיק ית רוחי בישתא דקטלן בנין ובנן בשבועת מלך רב
ושליט אנת
'H and Yah 'Hw Yah 'H YWY H'H and YHHW, the great
Yah and the angel of the countenance. Remove the
evil spirits who kill sons and daughters, by the oath
of a great and ruling king. You
- 11 הוא בעלמא הדין ואנת הוא דעלמא דאתי אמן ומימי אמן סלה
הה הה הו יו יה וקבילו גיטא רוחי בישתא דישמיכין פרישן
לעילה מומתא
are in this world and you are of the world to come.
Amen, **wmymy** Amen, Selah. HH HH HW YW Yah.
And accept the deed of divorce, evil spirits whose
names are specified above. May the adjurations
- 12 ושבועתא יתקימן עליכין זח מן מישכוי בת אנושפרי ומן
פרוכדד בר גושנזדוך בעלה מן בתיהון ומן דירתהון ומן
מישכביהון ומן מיקמיהון ומן כל אתר בית
and oaths be fulfilled against you. Depart from
Miškoy daughter of Anušfri and from Farrokhdad
son of Gušnazdukh, her husband, from their houses
and from their dwelling and from their lying down
and from their getting up and from every place of
their
- 13 מישכביהון ושבוקו מיניהון ותיתפטרו ותילון מיניהון ויהיוון
להון בנין דחיין בעלמא הדין לעלם קלם יהוי עליכין בלילה
וביממא ותו אתה סתר לי מצר תצוריני
sleeping quarters. And leave them, and be released
and go from them. And may they have children that
shall live in this world for ever. May vermin be
against you by night and by day. And again, "You are
my hiding place; you will preserve me from the
adversary;
- 14 רוני פלט תסובבני סלה אחישה {מיפלט} מיפלט למישכוי בת
אנושפרי מרוח סועה מסער קים ושריר לעלם עלמין אמן אמן
סלה
with songs of deliverance you will surround me.
Selah". "I would hasten escape" for Miškoy daughter
of Anušfri "from the stormy wind and tempest". It is
established and sound for ever and ever. Amen,
Amen, Selah.

10. **mlk rb wšlyt**: Cf. Dan 2:10.

11. **pryšn**: a defective spelling for **pryšyn**.

13. **šbwqw mynyhwn**: "leave them"; *DJBA*, 1105, meaning 6, quotes a similar phrase meaning "leave alone" or "let go" (and so is the usage in *AMB Bowl* 12:7). In this context, however, the best sense seems to be "abandon, forsake" etc.

The 3 p. masc. pl. impf. **yhwyn** is otherwise written **yhwn** or **nyhwn** in this corpus. The reading **yhwyyyn** is paleographically possible, but would not accord with the context.

13–14. **Ps 32:7**; **tšwryny**, i.e. *tššōrēnī*, for MT *tššārēnī*, reflects the Babylonian vocalisation tradition, in which the vowel of the second root consonant of the *yiqtol* form is preserved before the obj. pron. suffix—see Ford and Ten-Ami 2011/2, 228–229.

14. **Ps 55:9**, with the client's name inserted in place of the 1 p. sg. pron. suffix.



JBA 55 (MS 1928/1)

165–150×65 mm. Semi-cursive hand.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the tendency to write redundant *waws* and *yodhs*: **hwwrmyz** (ll. 2 and 8), **yytyky** (l. 5), and **yyyt** (l. 8).

Clients: Hormiz son of Mama; Gyonay daughter of Lalay, his wife.

Biblical quotations: Ps 116:6.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| לישמך אני עושה דין קמיעא | 1 | By your name I make this amulet |
| דיהוי להון לאסו להדין הוורמיז בר מאמה | 2 | in order that it may be for healing for this Hormiz son of Mama |
| להדא גיוני בת לאליי איתתיה וכל שום דאית | 3 | (and) for this Gyonay daughter of Lalay, his wife, and any name that they |
| להון דין הוא גיטא דליליתא יום בימי מיכל יומי ושני דורי עלמה | 4 | have. This is the deed of divorce of the lilith. A day in the days from all days and years (and) generations of the world. |
| אנה גיוני בת לאליי אמתא דישימא אנה פטרנא ומתרכנא ייתיכי מן | 5 | I, Gyonay daughter of Lalay, maidservant of heaven, I release and divorce you from |
| כולה קומתי מיפטר קורחא בתמוז מישבק ערבא טמא אבידניה אנתי קריתה | 6 | my whole body, (like) the release of ice in Tammuz, (like) the dismissal of an unclean raven (from) the temple (where it is found). You, mishap, |
| דמיתקריט צבטייד דאנתי מן זרעית פיצוץ בת קיירא דאיתקטיל אחוה בחרבה דרמיסק | 7 | who are called <i>šbttyd</i> , you who are from the family of <i>pyšwš</i> daughter of <i>qyyr</i> , whose brother was killed by the sword of <i>rmysq</i> |
| מלכא דשידי וקרינא עלך יומא דנן ייית קיראיה דמיתקרי הבט[---] לא תיתחזין ליה להדין הוורמיז | 8 | the king of demons. And I summon against you this day <i>qyr'yh</i> who is called <i>hbt</i> [---] do not appear to this Hormiz |
| בר מאמה ולהדא גיוני בת לאליי א(ת)תיה לא בליליא{יא} וילא ביממא בכל דמו בשון[ם ---] | 9 | son of Mama and to this Gyonay daughter of Lalay, his wife, neither by night nor by day, in any form. By the na[me of ---] |

5. *'mt' dyšmy*: "maidservant of heaven"; an epithet of piety. The masculine equivalent *'bdh dšmyh* "servant of heaven" is attested in IM 11245:5 (Faraj 2010, Bowl 10; reading from the photograph).

6. *qwrh*: "ice"; this is the first attestation of *qwrh* "ice" in JBA.

'rb' tmy: "an unclean raven"; the usual spelling for raven is *'wrb* (see *DJBA*, 849). This interpretation is uncertain. It may also be possible to understand the phrase as meaning "an unclean vessel" (see *DJBA*, 162).

'bydnyh: "(from) the temple (where it is found)"; lit. "its temple" (see *DJBA*, 209).

7–8. *d'ytqtyl' hwh bhrbh drmysq mlk' dšydy*: "whose brother was killed by the sword of *rmysq* the king of demons"; it is possible that *drmysq* is derived from the late Aramaic form of the name of Damascus (positing assimilation of the relative pronoun to the *d* of *drmysq*—cf. the note to JBA 49:5). There is a parallel text in Davidovitz 4, to be published by Ford.

8. *qyr'yh*: This is possibly a name derived from *qryt* "mishap".

[י]ה[יה] פתם שומר שמים מיעים מרחם [---] 10 [---] (who) grants mercy from heaven. “[Y]H[WH]
protects the simple”.
אמן סלה 11 Amen, Amen, Selah.

10. Ps 116:6, with **ptm** for MT **pt'ym**.



JBA 56 (MS 1928/8)—general view



JBA 56 (MS 1928/8)—section one



JBA 56 (MS 1928/8)—section two



JBA 56 (MS 1928/8)—section three



JBA 56 (MS 1928/8)—section four

165 × 80 mm. Semi-formal hand. Some of the text is lost or faded due to the flaking of its surface. The whole text is contained in one continuous cartouche. There appears to be a small design in the centre, but it is very faded.

Clients: Ḥayye son of Ṭaṭay; [---] daughter of Duday, his wife.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| בשום אלט ל[י]טן אטטרין גטטריט | 1 | By the name of <i>nomina barbara</i> |
| בצטטאל לא תססב בצצטאל לא תססב חתמי עלוהי | 2 | <i>nomina barbara</i> Sealed against him |
| יה גבחאל משבענא עלכי רוחא בישתא וליליתא בישתא וכל זיקין ומזיקין | 3 | are Yah Gabaḥel. I beswear you, evil spirit, and evil lilit, and all blast demons and evil |
| בישינ דאית בביתיה דחייא בר טאטי זעו ופוקו ותסבון גיט[יכ]ון מן חייא בר טא[טי] | 4 | tormentor[s] who are in the house of Ḥayye son of Ṭaṭay: Move and go out! And you shall take [yo]ur deeds of divorce from Ḥayye son of Ṭa[ṭay] |
| ומן [---] בת דודי איתתיה ומן בנין {ובנן} ובנן דאית להון ודהון להון ומן ביתיה בארבע | 5 | and from [---] daughter of Duday, his wife, and from the sons and daughters that they have and that they will have, and from his house, with its four |
| מ[יצרי]ה [וב]א[ר]בע [וי]תיה ותיפקון [ותיז]לון לאתר אוחרן ב[י]שמי[ה] דמן דייב[רא] ע[ל]מ[א] ובי[שמי]ה [דמ]יטטון | 6 | b[orders and with] its f[o]ur c[orn]ers, and go out [and g]o to another place. By the [name] of the one who cr[eated the] wo[r]ld, [and by] the name of Metatron, |
| [---] סר הפנים דהוא מזיעא לכל בנין [מא] עי[ן] אין סניי סיני יהו אחי[ש] אחיש הגריפט קפ[ר] [---] | 7 | [---] the guardian angel of the countenance, who is the one that makes all tho[se of] the upper wo[rld] shake <i>nomina barbara</i> [---] |
| [---] מר[א]פסוני א[גמ]וני פל[ד] ז[מ]ה [---] סחי הדירין [---] דעת כיתר[וס] כיתרוס אמן א[מן] סל[ה] | 8 | <i>nomina barbara</i> Amen, A[men, Sela]h. |

2. **bsst'l**: The same reading occurs in JNF 257:3, which is by the same scribe. JBA 61:1–2 and JBA 63:2–3 both have **bsst'l**.

5–6. **b'rb' myšryh**: “with its four borders”; apparently with an incongruence between the gender of the noun and its accompanying numeral. Contrast CAMIB 68A:7 (according to *DJBA*, 673): **mn 'rb'h myšry bytyh** “from the four borders of his house”.

6. For the restoration of **byšmyh** twice in this line, cf. JNF 257:7–8.



JBA 57 (MS 2053/36)—general view



JBA 57 (MS 2053/36)—section one



JBA 57 (MS 2053/36)—section two



JBA 57 (MS 2053/36)—section three



JBA 57 (MS 2053/36)—section four

145 × 60 mm. Semi-formal hand. The rim is chipped. The writing is partly faded. The text is surrounded by a circle.

Clients: Ahay son of Nana; Dadoy daughter of Batgadda.

Image: In the centre, within a circle, there is a cross shape consisting of two straight lines, each ending with asymmetrical circles. This design may be related to the *caractères* signs, which are magic symbols, rather than to a Christian symbol.

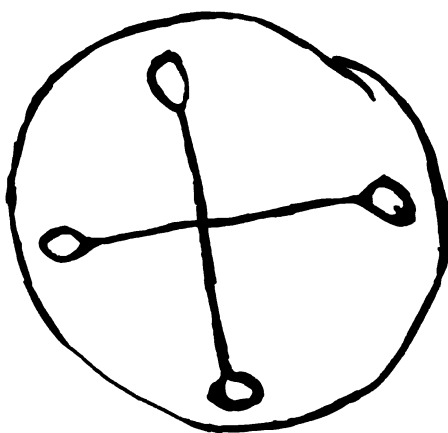


Fig. 17: Artist's impression of image from JBA 58.

- | | | |
|--|----------|--|
| <p>אסֹתָא מִן שְׁמִיּהּ לֵאחִי בֶר נָנָא וּלְדֹדֵי בֶת בַּתְגַּדָּא וְכָל שׁוֹם</p> | <p>1</p> | <p>Healing from heaven for Aḥay son of Nana and for Dadoy daughter of Batgadda, and any name</p> |
| <p>דְּאִיתָּ לָהּ [וְאִן אָמֵן] אֲמֵן סֵלָה וְהֵן יִישְׁרוּ וַיִּבְרִיאוּ אֶתְּוֹן רוּחִין וְשִׁידִין וְשִׁיבְטִין</p> | <p>2</p> | <p>that t[hey] have. [Amen], Amen, Selah. And they will be strong and healthy. You, spirits and demons and afflictions</p> |
| <p>וְדִין[וִין] וְלִילִין וְלֵאָ תִקְרַבּוּן לֵה לֵאחִי בֶר נָנָא וּלְדֹדֵי בֶת בַּתְגַּדָּא וְלֹא תִרְעָשׁוּנָה וְלֹא</p> | <p>3</p> | <p>[and <i>dē</i>]ys and lilis, do not come near to Aḥay son of Nana and to Dadoy daughter of Batgadda, and do not disturb him nor</p> |
| <p>תְּבַהֲלוּן[ה] וְלֹא תִזְקֻנָה בִישְׁמִיָּה דַּאשְׁמַדִּי מְלֵאכָה אָמֵן אָמֵן אָמֵן סֵלָה אִיקְלָא קִנְיִי פְרִין סַחִין</p> | <p>4</p> | <p>agitate [him] nor harm him. By the name of the angel Ashmedai. Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah. <i>nomina barbara</i></p> |
| <p>הֲדַרְיִן שְׁקוּלִי גִטְכִּי וְקַבִּילִי מוֹמַת(כ') וְקִדְחִי [וְ]פִקִּי וְעִירוּקִי מִן בֵּיתָא דַּאחִי בֶר נָנָא וּדְדֹי בֶת בַּתְגַּדָּא אָמֵן</p> | <p>5</p> | <p><i>nomina barbara</i> Take your deed of divorce and accept your adjuration and flee [and] go out and take flight from the house of Aḥay son of Nana and Dadoy daughter of Batgadda. Amen,</p> |
| <p>אָמֵן סֵלָה</p> | <p>6</p> | <p>Amen, Selah.</p> |

3. **wl' tqrbyn:** Probably an error for l' tqrbyn.

4-5. 'yql' qyny pryn shyn hdyrn: Cf. the sequence of *nomina barbara* in JBA 57:8, JBA 61:6-7, JBA 63:9 and MS 2053/61:19.



JBA 58 (MS 2053/166)

100×30 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl is broken and is missing its rim, perhaps causing considerable loss of text.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of a lengthened *waw* to differentiate it from *yodh*.

Clients: Farrokh son of Rašewandukh; Dukhtbeh daughter of Gušnašp-fri, his wife.

Image: In the centre, there is a poorly preserved depiction of a creature in a bundled position. A crown can be seen on its head, with four pointy protrusions. Two dark, big eyes are also recognisable on a fairly triangular head.



Fig. 18: Artist's impression of image from JBA 59.

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| בישמך אני עושה דין גיטא דליליתא | 1 | By your name I act. This is the deed of divorce of the lilith. |
| אשבעית עליכון שידי שיפטי דיוי פגעי סטני | 2 | I beswear you, demons, afflictions, <i>dēvs</i> , affliction demons, satans, |
| לטבי בני איגרי ליליתא לילי דיכרא וילי ניקבתא דשריא | 3 | no-good ones, roof demons, liliths, male lili and female lili, who reside |
| באידרוניה ובאיספלידיה ובאפדניה ובכולה דירתיה דפרוך בר רשונדוך ודוכתביה | 4 | in the inner room, and in the vaulted chamber, and in the hall, and in the whole dwelling of Farrokh son of Rašewandukh and Dukhtbeh |
| בת גושנצפרי אִינתיה אשבעית עליכון במן דיברא עלמה ליקריה ושכליל יבשתא | 5 | daughter of Gušnašp-fri, his wife. I beswear you by the one who created the world for his honour and formed the dry land, |

5. *škllyl*: This is the first attestation of this verb in JBA, but it is well known from other Aramaic dialects and Rabbinic Hebrew (cf. *SL*, 1558, and *DJPA*, 550, s.v. *šKLL*, meaning 2). For the parallelism of *BR'* with *šKLL*, cf. the examples of the hendiadys *br' wškl* in SA (*DSA*, 893).

- 6 ואשרי שכינתיה בימרומי עילאי מן שבעה רקיעין והוא דאין ית
רשיעיה בגיהנם בנור דליק דתיפקון
and caused his Divine Presence to reside in the
heights above the seven firmaments, and he judges
the wicked in Gehenna with burning fire, in order
that you may go out
- 7 ותיזלון ותירחקון מן פרוך בר רשונדוך ומן דוכתביה בת
גושנצפפרי אינתיה ואם ציתיתון ונפֿקי[תון מוטב]
and go and be far away from Farrokh son of
Rašewandukh and from Dukhtbeh daughter of
Gušnašp-fri, his wife. And if you obey and go out,
[good,]
- 8 [ואם לא הוּו בש]מִתָּא דְאֵלֶּהָ דְאֵ[שׁ]רִי[י] שְׁכִינְתִּיהָ [---]
[but if not, be under the b]an of God who caused his
Divine Presence [to re]si[de ---]

7–8. Restored following JNF 113.



JBA 59 (MS 2053/174)

165×65 mm. Semi-formal hand. The writing is mostly faded. The text appears to be surrounded by a circle.

Clients: Khwarrah[-]a son of Qaqay; Khwarrahta [daughter of ---], his wife.

Biblical quotation: Ex 3:15.

| | | |
|--|----|--|
| [---] | 1 | [---] |
| [---] | 2 | [---] |
| [---] | 3 | [---] |
| לד [---] | 4 | [---] to you |
| גט גטא [---] | 5 | a deed of divorce, the deed of divorce [---] |
| [---] בישא [ו] כל זי קין [---] | 6 | [---] evil [--- and] all bla[st demons ---] |
| [---] | 7 | [---] |
| [---] אשבע[ית עליכ]י באביר {האמ} [א -] ברהם ובצור יצחק --- בזה שמי | 8 | [--- I] beswear [yo]u by the Mighty One of [A]braham, and by the Ro[ck of Isaac ---] by “This is my name] |
| [לעולם בזה זי] כרי לדור דור האמר [---] אומיתי ואשבע[ית עליכי] במומת[א] | 9 | [for ever”, by “This is] my [me]morial unto all generations”. That which is said [---] I adjure and beswear [you] with (this) adjurati[on] |
| [---] משב[ענא ע] לייכי דת[יקבלין] --- איתתיה גיטי ומ[ומתיכ]י גט פיטורין וסיפר תיר[וכין] וא[יגרת שיבוק]ין כ[דת משה וישראל ב]י שמי[ה] [ד---] יאל | 10 | [--- I] beswe[ar] you in order that you [accept ---] his wife, your deed of divorce and [yo]ur ad[juration], a deed of release and a document of div[orce and a le]tter of dismiss[al according to] the law of Moses and Israel. B[y] the name [of ---]iel |
| ו[---] לילין ודנחיש ול[לי]תא וכל מוֹזִיקין בישין וא[נתי] קבילי מן כורה[---] א בר קאקי ומן כורהתא [בת ---] איתת[י]ה | 11 | and [---] lilis and Danaḥiš and li[li]ths and all evil tormentors. And al[so] you, accept from Khwarrah[-]a son of Qaqay and from Khwarrahta [daughter of ---] his wife, |
| גטיכ[י] [---] קין ולא תיתעכבין עליהו ליעלם ולא תיהון להון [---] א[מן] א[מן] א[מן] ס[לה] הללויה | 12 | your deed of divorce [---] and do not tarry with them for ever and do not become to them [--- A]men, A[men, Se]lah, Hallelujah. |

8. b'byr: “by the Mighty One of”; perhaps read b'dyr as in JNF 33 (see below).

{h'm}: A false start for h'mr (l. 9).

8–9. Ex 3:15. The available space suggests that the text was slightly longer than that of JNF 33:2–4, which reads b'dyr 'brhm bšwr yšq bšdy y'qb bzh šmy l'wlm bzh zkry ldwr dr h'mwr b'mwn' b'mwmt' hd' “by the Mighty One of Abraham, by the Rock of Isaac, by Shaddai of Jacob, by “This is my name for ever”, by “This is my memorial unto all generations”. That which is said in faith with this adjuration”.

Outside:

[---] 13 [---]

13. The writing outside is indistinct. It is not clear whether it is in Jewish Aramaic.



JBA 60 (MS 2053/212)

157 × 65 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded.

The text is surrounded by a circle.

Clients: Narse son of Duday; Hormizdukh, his wife.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| [אל]ט ליטן אטטריט [---] גטגטריט בססטאל לאתסאסב | 1 | <i>nomina barbara</i> |
| בססטאל לאתסאסב חת[ימי] עלוהי יד יה גבחאל משבענא עלכי ליליתא וכל | 2 | <i>nomina barbara</i> Sea[led] against him are Yad Yah Yah Gabahel. I beswear you, lilit, and all |
| מזיקין בישין דאית בביתיה דנרסי בר דודי דתיסבון גטיכון מן נרסי בר דודי [מן] הורמזדוך | 3 | evil tormentors who are in the house of Narse son of Duday, in order that you take your deeds of divorce from Narse son of Duday [and] from Hormizdukh, |
| איתתיה ומן בנוהי ומ[ן] בנתוזה[י] {ותללללל} ותזלון לאתר אוחרן בישמיה דמן דיברא עלמה ובישמיה דמטטר[ן] | 4 | his wife, and from his sons and fr[om] hi[s] daughters, and go to another place. By the name of the one who created the world, and by the name of Metatr[o]n, |
| גנוניה דהוא מזיעה דכל בני מרמה עין אין {x} סיני סיני יהו אחיש אחישה אגריפט קפר נגו מפעיה | 5 | his protector, who is the one that causes shaking of all those of the upper world. <i>nomina barbara</i> |
| קפר נגיס מוקון מוטון [א]וטמון ופס[ק]ון אנטר גריניס מור ואמירון אפסוני אגמוני פלד זמא איקלא קנ[י]נ[י] | 6 | <i>nomina barbara</i> |
| עד עין פדין סחי הדירין [ה]דיר[ין] דעלת כימחט דעס כיתרוס אמן אמן סלה הללויה וקים ושריר | 7 | <i>nomina barbara</i> Amen, Amen, Selah. Hallelujah. And it is established and sound. |

2. **yd**: The scribe appears to have corrected *he* to *dalet*.

4. **wmn bnwhy wmn bntwwhy**: "and from his sons and from his daughters"; **bntwwhy** is apparently for **bntwhy** (cf., e.g., JBA 21:11). The upper part of the first *waw* and the lower part of the second *waw* are visible.

5. **gnwnyh**: "his protector", derived from GNN "to protect" (*DJBA*, 296). See the introduction to the section containing MS 2053/61:17.



JBA 61 (MS 2053/214)

155×60 mm. Semi-formal hand. There is a large blank circle in the centre.

Clients: Maḥlafa son of Maššamaš; Baṭḥayye daughter of Immi, his wife.

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | אשבעית עלי ליליתא לילי דיכרא ולילי ניקבה בישמיה דפזרהיא והאל | I beswear you, lilith, male lili and female lili. By the name of pzrhy' wh'l . |
| 2 | ליליתא {לי} שגניתא וחטיתא תלתיכין וארבעתיכין וחמישתיכין ערטיל שליחתין | Lilith, the grabber and the snatcher: the three of you, and the four of you, and the five of you. You are stripped naked |
| 3 | ולא לבישתין סתיר סעריכין ורמי לאחור גביכין שמיע עליכין אבוכין פלחס שמיה ואימכין | and are not clothed, your hair is dishevelled and cast behind your back. It was heard concerning you: your father's name is Palḥas and your mother |
| 4 | פלחדד ליליתא פוקי מן ביתה דמחלפא בר משמש ומן איסקופתה דבתחיי בת אימי וסב גיטבי | is the lilith Palḥadad. Go out from the house of Maḥlafa son of Maššamaš and from the threshold of Baṭḥayye daughter of Immi. And take your deeds of divorce |
| 5 | ופיטורכי גיטכין ופיטוריכין ואיגרת שיבוקכי וספר תירוככי מן מחלפא דנן ומן בתחיי דא אינתתיה בישמיה | and your (writs of) release, your deeds of divorce and your (writs of) release, and your letter of dismissal, and your document of divorce, from this Maḥlafa and from this Baṭḥayye, his wife, by the name |
| 6 | דורניר גדה בגידא דלא תיהוין להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינתא דיממה בישמיה דפלסא פליסא אמן אמן | of zrnyr gdh bgyd' , in order that you shall not appear to them, neither by dream of night nor by sleep of day. By the name of Palsa Pelisa. Amen, Amen, |
| 7 | סלה הללויה לישמד | Selah, Hallelujah. By your name. |

1. **pzrhy' wh'l**: See the note to JBA 19:3.

2. {ly}: Probably a false start for **lylyt dybr'**, or the like (cf. JBA 15:3). Cf. also MS 2053/62:8, which has a false start in an equivalent context.

šnny't: "the grabber"; this spelling, for the usual **šlnt'**, is the result of an interchange between *lamed* and *nun*. Such interchanges are common in JBA. In this case, it is due to the influence of the following *nun* (cf. **šnyt'** in K3449:5).

hṭṭyt': See the note to JBA 19:4.

rṭyl šlyḥtyn: See the note to JBA 15:4.

4. **sb**: "take"; probably a phonetic spelling for the fem. sg. impv. **sby**.

6. **zrnyr gdh bgyd'**: See the note to JBA 15:9.

tyhwyn: Or **tyḥwyn**; apparently an assimilated form of **tythwyn/tyḥwyn** (see the note to JBA 38:6). The reading **tyḥzyn** is also possible, but the *waw* is preferred because it differs from the unequivocal *zayin* in **pzrhy'** (l. 1).



JBA 62 (MS 2053/242)

160×50 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. Some of the invocations in ll. 2–3 are underlined, while those in ll. 7–10 are enclosed in a cartouche.

Linguistic and orthographic features: The scribe differentiates between *dalet* and *reš*. Sometimes, *reš* is written more like *waw* or *yodh*, e.g. in *myṭṭrwn* (l. 7).

Clients: Safray son of Anihdag and Aḥata, his wife; Aṭaš son of Qaqay and Buftay, his wife; Daštoy son of Qaqay and Miriam, his wife; Nihoy (or Mahoy) son of Denkhwaš and Kaykhwaš, his wife.

Image: In the centre of the bowl, within a circle, there is a frontal, standing figure, with arms raised to the sides of its head. The figure is human and looks feminine. There are short stripes along her legs, suggesting that she may be wearing trousers. The upper body is exposed, revealing a female chest expressed by two circles. There are rectangular frames around her arms, which suggest that her shoulders are bound to a stick. Her hands are short, and her palms are crude and rectangular without any fingers. Her legs are turned out, showing that she is bowing down. Her head is large in comparison with her body and is covered with a headscarf. She has long, wavy hair running down both sides of her head and past her chest. Her face has a horizontal forehead line joined to a vertical heavy nose, two large eyes with a short stripe in them, and two horizontal stripes for the mouth. Her arms are bound and there is a chain around her ankles.



Fig. 19: Artist's impression of image from JBA 63.

- 1 Sealed and double sealed is the house and the threshold and the seed and the property
- 2 of Safray son of Anihdag. *nomina barbara*
- 3 *nomina barbara* Sealed against him are Yad, Yah, Gabaḥel. I beswear you, lilith,
- 4 and all evil tormentors who are in the house [of] Safray son of Anihdag, in order that you take your deeds of divorce from Safray son of Anihdag
- 5 and from Aḥata, his wife, and from the seed that [he] has and that he will have, and from Aṭaš son of Qaqay and from Buftay, his wife, and from the seed
- 6 that he has and that he will have, and from Daštoy son of Qaqay and from Mi[r]iam, his wife, and from the seed that he has and that he will have, and from Nihoy son of Denkhwaš and from
- 7 Kaykhwaš, his wife, and from the seed that he has and that he will have, and go to another place. By the name of the one who created the world, and by the name of Metatron, the protector,
- 8 who is the one that causes shaking upon all those of the upper world. *nomina barbara*
- 9 *nomina barbara*
- 10 *nomina barbara* Amen, Amen, Selah. I have written, and may there be healing from above. A(men). Sealed.
- Outside:
- 11 The outer gate.

2. *gtḡtṽrwk*: The final letter may be *dalet* rather than *kaph*. Cf. Wolfe 1:2, which appears to read *gtḡtṽrwk*, and Wolfe 8:2, which appears to read *gtḡtṽrwd*. Cf. also *gtḡtṽryt* in JBA 61:1 and MS 2053/61:14.

6. *nyhwy*: “Nihoy”; the same client appears in MS 2053/257:8 and MS 1929/12:4. The reading *mhwy* “Mahoy” is also possible, but appears less likely here and in MS 1929/12:4. The name Mahoy, however, is amply attested in the magic bowls (e.g. JNF 20:1, JNF 154:3), whereas Nihoy is at present otherwise unattested.

7. *gnwn*: See the note to JBA 61:5.

8. *mzy* ° 1 kl: Cf. Wolfe 1:7, Wolfe 2:5 and Wolfe 8:7, which share the same reading. Other bowls with the same spell read *mzy* ° *dkl*, or the like—cf. JBA 61:5, MS 2053/61:17, JNF 182:5.

9. *pldymh*: Cf. *pldym* in Wolfe 1:8, which was written by the same scribe, and *pld zm* in JBA 61:6, which was written by a different scribe.

10. ° *ḥtym*: The parallel phrase in Wolfe 1:8 reads ° *mn ḥtym wṁḥtm* ... “Amen. Sealed and double sealed ...”.



JBA 63 (MS 2053/250) with label



175 × 55 mm. Semi-formal hand. The bowl was broken, but has been repaired. The writing is partly faded.

The text is surrounded by a circle and there is a large blank circle in the centre.

Linguistic and orthographic features: Note the use of *'aleph* rather than *yodh* in *'Phyn* (l. 9).

Client: Gista daughter of Ifra-Hormiṣ.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>אשבעית ע[ל] יכין כל מיני לילית[א] ב[ש]ן ע[ז] רעיתכין דילדין [ש]די בני נר[ר] א דאיןן סטן ומרדין ועברין</p> | 1 | <p>I beswear you, all types of lilith[s], by [the na]me of your [fa]mily, which [de]mons beget, the sons of fi[r]e who go astray and rebel and transgress</p> |
| <p>על ג[ז] רתא דמריהון מן זיקא [פרח]ין ומהלכין באתר מסאב [---] וסלפין ומפגנן ומשגרין איצין ובלמין</p> | 2 | <p>against the de[cr]ee of their lord. By the wind they [fly] and they walk around in an unclean place [---] and they whip and wound and inflame. They press and restrain</p> |
| <p>במיני דפוכתא ובאתרכין ד[---] חליין ומד[---] לין סירין למימחי ומיד[מי]ן לבני [אינ] ש[ה] לגברי [בד]מות נשי ולנשי בדמות</p> | 3 | <p>with types of bridles, and in your place they [---] and they [---] they go around to strike and [th]ey resem[ble] hu[man] beings, to men [in the f]orm of women and to women in the form of</p> |
| <p>גברי ועינם בני אינשא אינן שכבין [ב] ליליה ומידמין ביממא [א]שבעית ע[ל] יכין ב[ישמ]ה דשעשגש גשך כתבית עליכין ליליתא</p> | 4 | <p>men, and with human beings they recline [by] night and they resemble (them) by day. I [be]swear you b[y] the [name] of š'sgš gšk. I have written against you, evil</p> |
| <p>בישתא דגוני אית ליכי ועינם זיקא פרחיתין ועינם אוירא מישתניתין וקימט לסיטרה [דג]סתא בת איפרה הורמין ומיחזית לה</p> | 5 | <p>lilith, for you have (many) resemblances, and with the wind you fly, and with the weather you change, and you stand at the side [of G]ista daughter of Ifra-Hormiṣ and you appear to her</p> |

1. **bny nwr**: “sons of fire”; cf. AMB Bowl 13:9. This could refer to either **zr'yt kyn** “your family” or **šydy** “demons”. Montgomery 1:8–9 reads **bšwm zr'yt kyn dyldyn šydy wlylyt' lbn nwr** “by the name of your family, which demons and liliths beget for the sons of fire”. Montgomery translated **bny nwr** as “children of light”, a reference to humans rather than demons, deriving **nwr** from **nwhr** “light” (Montgomery 1913, 119).

2. **wmhl kyn b'tr ms'b**: “and they walk around in an unclean place”; cf. TO Lev 14:41, which has **'tr ms'b** for Heb. **mqwm ṭm** “an unclean place”. This may be a reference to the idea that demons frequent latrines (e.g. Zohar I:10b).

wslpyn wmpgnyn: “and they whip and wound”; Montgomery 1:10 reads **wslpyn wmpgmyn** “and they whip and wound” in the same context. The same verbs also appear in collocation in the Mandaic incantation DC 51:91: **mpagmilun umšalpilun** “they wound them and they whip them” (MD, 366). It is likely, therefore, that SLP and PGN in the present text are phonetic variants of SLP and PGM. This is preferable to interpreting SLP as an otherwise unattested JBA verb “twist, pervert” in accordance with the meaning of the poorly attested SLP in Mandaic (see MD, 331–332) and the Targums (see Jastrow 1950, 996). Note that SLP is well attested in Mandaic in magical contexts (MD, 395, s.v. SLP and šlpa, and 393, s.v. šlpa) and in Syriac (SL, 1290–1291).

wmšgryn: “and they inflame”; contra Montgomery, who translated the same verb in Montgomery 1:11 as “and dissolve” on account of his reading the following word as **kmyn** “like water” (Montgomery 1913, 120). For our translation, cf. MS 2053/173:14–15, which reads **wmyšyḥnyn wmšgryn wmsṭnyn rḥmyn zyml' wznwt** “and they heat and inflame and seduce, they love lust and fornication”.

3. **pwktt**: “bridles”; cf. Mand. **pukta** “bridle” (MD, 367).

wb'tr kyn: “and in your place”; the interpretation is uncertain. It is possible that **wb'tr kyn** is for **wbtr kn** “and afterwards”. **syryn lmyḥy**: “they go around to strike”; for demons walking around with evil intent, see Ford 1998, 211.

- 6 by day, and you resemble her by night. You are sea[l]ed by the seals of heaven and earth, by the stamp of the signet-ring of living fire. B[y] his name I beswear you, by his holy name
- 7 against [yo]u I recite, and I beswear by the name of **rbt 'syrin**, and by the name of **'bynys'**. I adjure all of you by the name of your god, in order that you should be struck in your pericardiums and not appear to
- 8 Gista daughter of Ifra-Hormiṣ, neither by night nor by day, and neither as male nor as female, because this amulet shall [b]e for you your deeds of divorce and your (writs of) release, just as demons take deeds of divorce
- 9 to their wives and they do not come back again unto them. Evil spirits, evil liliths, male and female, you [shall] not come back again [n]or appear to Gista daughter of Ifra-Hormiṣ from this day and for ever.
- 10 [Amen], Amen, Selah, Hallelujah [---]
- ביממא ומידמית לָהּ בליליה חתי[מ]ת בחתמי שמיה וארעה
בטבע עיזיקתָא דנורא חִיא ב[י]שמיה אֲשַׁבְעֵתִיכֹן בישמיה
קדישא
- על[יכו]ן אֲדַכְרִית ואשבועית בשמיה דרבת אסירין ובישמיה
דאביניסא מומינא כִּלְכוֹן בשום אֵילֶהְכוֹן דתיתמחון בְּטוֹפְרוֹס
ליליכוֹן ולא תיתחזון לה
- לגיסתא בת איפרה הורמיץ לא בליליה ולא ביממא ולא
בדיכרא ולא בניקבתא מנקודם דהדין קמיעא י[ה]וי לכוֹן
גיטִיכוֹן ופיטוריכוֹן כמא דנסבין שידי גיטי
- לנשיהון ותוב לא הדרין עלֵאֶהֱיִן רוּחִי בישתא ליליתא בישתא
דיכרי וניקבתא תוב לא ת[י]הדרון [ו]לא תיתחזון לה לגיסתא
בת איפרה הורמיץ מן יומא דין ולעלם
- [אמן] אֲמֵן סֵלָה הַלְּלוּיָהּ [---]

7. 'bynys': Cf. JNF 2:8, where the same name occurs in a series of magic names.

8. **km' dñsbyn šydy**: "just as demons take"; an unusual use of the verb NSB "to take", which usually refers to a demoness accepting her deed of divorce (e.g. JBA 63:4). The usual reading is **kmh dktbyn šydy** "just as demons write" (cf. JBA 28:5–6 and JBA 29:7) or occasionally **kmh dyhbyn šydy** "just as demons give" (cf. JBA 40:3).



JBA 64 (MS 2053/256)

GLOSSARY, LISTS, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX

GLOSSARY

Only complete or partial words are included in this glossary. Words that are entirely restored are omitted. The first column contains the lemma, usually with the initial form according to how it appears in *DJBA*, while forms that actually occur in the bowls are listed in the third column. Significant variants are also listed in the first column. Hebrew words from Biblical quotations are not included.

א

| | | |
|---------|-------------------------------|---|
| אא | See אה. | |
| אב | (Heb.) n. “father” | - pl. cstr. 'bwt 28:10 |
| אבא | n. “father” | - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. sg. 'bwk 48:6(×2); 49:5(×2) 3 p. masc. sg. 'bwhy 50:12; 51:9; 52:12; 53:10; 54:10 2 p. masc. pl. 'bkwyn 19:6, 8, 9, 11 2 p. fem. pl. 'bkwyn 15:5; 24:4, 6, 9; 62:3 - pl. - with pron. suffix 1 p. pl. 'bhtn' 15:7; 24:9; 'bhtnh 18:5; 19:11 |
| אבד | vb. “be lost, perish” | - pf. 3 p. masc. pl. 'bdw 13:6; 21:9; 22:8; 'bdww 17:6; 20:8 |
| אבידן | n. “temple” | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. 'bydnyh 56:6 |
| אביר | (Heb.) n. “mighty one” | - cstr. 'byr 60:8 |
| אבר | See עבר. | |
| או | conj. “or, whether” | 25:10(×6), 11(×3) |
| אודנא | n. “ear” | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. 'dnh 11:13; 'wdnh 1:6, 10; 2:6(×2); 3:11; 4:6, 11; 7:7, 11; 9:5, 10; 11:8; 12:7, 12 - pl. 'wdnyn 2:12; 4:13; 6:13; 9:13 |
| אורא | n. “air, climate, weather” | 64:5 |
| אור | (Heb.) n. “light” | - cstr. 'wr 15:11; 24:12 |
| אורייתא | n. “Torah” | 'wryt' 46:10 |
| אות | (Heb.) n. “character, letter” | 13:4(×2); 16:5(×2); 17:4; 20:6(×2); 21:7(×2); 22:5 - cstr. 'wt 14:4(×2) - pl. 'wtwt 13:4(×2); 14:4(×2); 'wtywwt 17:5; 20:6(×2); 'wtywt 16:5(×2); 21:8(×2); 22:5(×2) |

| | | |
|---------|-----------------------------|---|
| אזל | vb. "go" | - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tyzlyn 1:9; 2:10; 3:10; 4:10; 5:8; 6:9; 7:10; 9:9; 11:11(×2); 12:11; 55:6 3 p. masc. sg. nyzyl 44:10 2 p. masc. pl. tyzylwn 63:7; tyzlw 55:13; 57:6; 59:7; 61:4 - impv. masc. sg. 'yzyl 15:12 masc. pl. zlw 12:17 - ptc. fem. sg. with 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. 'zlyt 8:7; 11:12(×2); 'zlt 1:10; 2:10; 3:11; 4:10; 6:10; 7:11; 9:10; 12:11 |
| אחא | n. "brother" | 45:7 - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. 'hwh 56:7 |
| אחורי | prep. "behind" | - in compound prep. "behind" P'whwr 15:4; 24:4; P'whr 18:3; P'hwr 62:3; lhwr 19:5 |
| אחטל | See חטל. | |
| אחרינא | adj. "another" | - masc. sg. abs. 'whrn 57:6; 61:4 'hwr'n 63:7 |
| אחתא | n. "sister" | 45:7 |
| אטול | See אמטול. | |
| אטמא | n. "thigh" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. 'tmh 1:10; 6:5; 9:10 |
| איברא | n. "limb" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. 'ybrh 9:10 |
| איגרא | n. "roof, roof-top" | - masc. pl. 'ygry 1:5; 2:6; 3:6; 4:6; 5:4; 7:6; 9:4; 10:6; 11:6; 12:6 - for the expression bnv 'ygry , see br' . |
| איגרתא | n. "letter, legal document" | - cstr. 'gryt 20:6; 9; 'grt 13:8; 'ygryt 17:4; 'ygrt 14:7; 21:12; 22:10; 60:10; 62:5 |
| אידרונא | n. "inner room" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. 'ydrwnyh 59:4 |
| איכרא | n. "farmer" | 55:6 |
| אילה | See אלה. | |
| אילין | dem. pron. "these" | 35:4, 6; 46:10 |
| אימא | n. "mother" | - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. sg. 'myk 48:6, 7; 49:6 2 p. masc. pl. 'ymkwn 19:6, 8, 9, 11 2 p. fem. pl. 'mykyn 15:6; 24:6, 9; 'ymkyn 24:4, 6; 62:3 |
| אין | int. "yes" | 46:12(×2) |
| אינן | pron. "they" (masc.) | 35:2, 6, 7; 64:4 - as copula 1:4; 2:5; 3:5; 4:5; 5:3; 7:5; 9:3; 10:5; 11:5; 12:5; 64:1 |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| אינשא | n. "man" | 25:7; 64:4 'ynšh 11:18; 12:18; 23:4; 64:3 (the above references are all in the expression bny 'ynš'/h "human beings") - abs. 'ynš 50:8; 51:6; 52:8; 53:6; 54:6 |
| אינתתא | See איתתא. | |
| איסורא | n. "prohibition, bond, spell" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. 'swrh 24:11 - pl. 'yswry 50:5; 51:4; 52:6; 53:4; 54:5 |
| איסכופתא איסקופתא איעקופתא | n. "threshold" | - cstr. 'ysykpt 36:2; 'yskwpt 27:3; 28:3; 29:4; 31:3; 32:5; 39:3; 41:4; 46:4; 'ysqwpt 25:4; 30:9; 34:5; 38:3; 45:2; 47:4; 'ysqwpt 44:3, 9; 'skwpt 37:5; 42:3; 43:4; 'sqwpt 45:4 - with pron. suffix 1 p. sg. 'sqwpty 26:5 3 p. masc. sg. 'ysqwptyh 63:1 3 p. fem. sg. 'ysqwpth 62:4; 'ysqwpt'h 40:2 - pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. 'ysqwpth 44:9 |
| איספלידא | See אספלידא. | |
| איסקופתא | See איסכופתא. | |
| איסתרא | n. "female spirit" (type of demon) | 25:11; 50:3; 51:3; 52:4; 53:3(×2); 54:3(×2) - pl. 'ystrt' 25:8 |
| איפשר | adv. "possible" | 55:8 |
| איעקופתא | See איסכופתא. | |
| אישתא | n. "fire; fever" | 8:4; 11:17; 12:17; 15:13 |
| אית | part. "there is/are" | 1:4; 2:5; 4:4, 15; 9:15, 18; 13:3; 17:2, 3; 19:3; 20:3, 4; 21:6, 11(×2); 22:4; 23:2; 24:13; 26:5; 28:10; 34:3, 9, 12; 35:6; 40:5; 48:3; 49:3; 50:2, 8; 51:1, 6; 52:2, 9; 53:1, 7; 54:2; 55:9; 56:3; 57:4, 5; 58:2; 61:3; 63:4, 5, 6(×2), 7; 64:5 |
| איתתא אינתתא | n. "woman, wife" | 'yntt' 23:5 'tt' 45:8 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. 'yntyh 59:5, 7; 'ynttyh 14:4, 6, 7; 25:3, 4; 29:8; 39:8; 47:7; 62:5; 63:5(×2), 6, 7; 'yttyh 17:2, 4, 7; 19:2, 7, 13; 20:2, 5, 9; 21:11; 26:1; 27:4, 8; 30:13; 31:4, 8; 42:7; 44:4, 9; 56:3, 9 ('y(t)tyh); 57:5; 60:10, 11; 61:4 - pl. nšy 64:3(×2); nšy' 47:10; nšyn 35:7 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. nšyhnw 14:3; 27:7; 29:7; 30:12; 31:6; 32:8; 34:9; 35:2; 36:5; 37:7; 38:6; 39:7; 40:3; 42:6; 43:7; 44:7; 45:5; 46:7; 47:6; 64:9 |
| אלה אילה | conj. "but" | 'ylh 9:17 |

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| אלה הדברים | (Heb.) “Deuteronomy” 46:10 (opening phrase of the fifth book of the Pentateuch, “these are the words”, used as the title) | |
| אלהא | n. “God” | 59:8 - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. pl. ’ylhkwn 64:7 |
| אלכסנדריא | n. “Alexandria” | 35:3 |
| אם | conj. “if, whether” | 1:10; 2:10; 3:11; 4:10; 5:9; 6:10; 7:11; 8:7; 9:10; 11:12; 12:11; 25:3; 46:10; 48:8; 49:6; 50:7; 51:5; 52:7; 53:6; 54:6; 55:6; 59:7 - in the expression ’m ... ’m “whether ... or” 50:9; 51:7; 52:10; 53:8; 54:8 |
| אמטול אטול | prep. “because of, on account of” | ’ṭwl 46:2 |
| אמן | (Heb.) “Amen” | 3:14; 5:10(×2); 6:12, 16(×4); 7:3(×2); 8:9; 9:8(×2); 11:6(×2), 18(×2); 12:15(×2), 18(×2); 13:8(×2); 16:9(×2); 17:8; 20:9(×2); 21:12(×2); 22:10(×2); 23:6(×2); 25:10(×2), 11(×2); 27:9(×2); 28:9(×2), 10(×2); 29:10; 30:4, 5, 14(×2); 31:9(×2); 32:11; 37:10; 38:6(×2); 40:6; 42:8(×2); 43:11(×2); 44:11(×2); 45:6(×2), 8(×2); 46:12(×2); 50:12(×2); 51:9(×2), 10(×2); 52:12, 13(×2); 53:10(×3); 54:10(×2); 55:11(×2), 14(×2); 56:11(×2); 57:8(×2); 58:2, 4(×3), 5, 6; 60:12(×2); 61:7(×2); 62:6(×2); 63:10(×2); 64:10 ’63:10 mn 30:6 |
| אמר | vb. “say, speak” | - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. ’mr 1:8; 2:8; 3:9; 4:9; 5:7; 6:8; 7:9; 9:8; 19:10; 24:8 3 p. fem. sg. ’mrh 8:5 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. ’mrn 48:5; 49:4 |
| אמר | (Heb.) vb. “say, speak” | - impv. masc. pl. ’ymrw 9:16 - pass. ptc. masc. sg. ’mr 60:9 |
| אמתא (1) | n. “maidservant” | 56:5 |
| אמתא (2) | n. “cubit” | - pl. ’myn 55:3 |
| אנא אנה | pron. “I” | ’nh 15:13; 16:4; 19:11 (!); 56:5(×2); 63:10 |
| אני | (Heb.) pron. “I” | 1:1; 2:2; 3:1; 4:1; 5:2; 6:2; 7:3; 9:1, 16, 17; 10:3; 11:4; 12:4; 17:1; 19:1; 20:1; 24:1; 27:1; 31:1; 32:2; 42:1; 53:1; 56:1; 59:1 |
| אנת | pron. “you” (masc. sg.) | 55:10, 11 |
| אנתה/אנתא | pron. “you” (masc. sg.) | ’nth 48:1; 49:1 |
| אנתי | pron. “you” (fem. sg.) | 1:8, 9, 10; 2:8, 9; 3:8, 10, 11; 4:8, 10, 11, 12; 5:6, 8; 6:8, 11, 12, 13, 14; 7:9, 10, 11; 8:4, 6; 9:7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14; 10:11; 11:1; 12:10; 14:6; 19:10; 24:8, 13; 25:1; 50:9; 51:7; 52:9; 53:7; 54:7; 56:6, 7; 60:11 |

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| אסותא | n. "healing" | 1:2; 2:1, 3; 3:2; 6:1, 3; 7:1, 4; 9:1; 10:1, 3(×2); 11:1; 12:1; 15:1; 25:11; 26:1; 29:1; 30:1; 37:1; 43:1; 47:1; 55:1; 58:1; 63:10 ' swth 5:1 - abs. ' sw 17:1; 19:1; 20:1; 56:2 - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. ' swth 11:17; 12:17 |
| אסי | vb. "heal" | <i>pa.</i> "heal" - impv. masc. pl. ' sw 11:18; 12:18 <i>itpa.</i> "be healed" - impf. 3 p. masc. sg. ytsy 25:12 3 p. fem. sg. tyt'sy 3:3; tytsy 1:3; 2:4; 4:3; 6:2; 7:2, 4; 9:16; 10:4; 11:3; 12:3; 47:2; 50:2; 51:2; 52:2; 53:1; 54:2; 55:1 |
| אספלידא איספלידא | n. "vaulted chamber" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. ' ysplydyh 59:4 |
| אסר | vb. "bind" | - pf. 1 p. sg. with 3 p. masc. pl. pron. suffix ' srtywn 23:1(×2); 25:3, 4 - ptc. masc. pl. ' sryn 18:10 - pass. ptc. sg. with 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. ' syrt 24:10; 30:13 masc. pl. ' syryn 35:1(×2), 2 pl. with 2 p. masc. pl. encl. pron. ' syrytwn 25:9, 11 pl. with 2 p. fem. pl. encl. pron. ' syrytyn 15:12 |
| אף | conj. "even, also, moreover" | 14:6; 23:4; 25:7, 10; 60:11 |
| אפדנא | n. "hall" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. ' pdnyh 59:4 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| אפקא | n. "expulsion" | 14:7 |
| אצץ | vb. "press" | - ptc. masc. pl. ' yşyn 64:2 |
| ארא | See ערא. | |
| ארבעא | num. "four" | ' rb 45:6; 57:5, 6 - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. pl. ' rb'tykwn 19:5 2 p. fem. pl. ' rb'tykyn 15:4; 18:2; 24:3; 62:2 - pl. "forty" ' rb'yn 11:9, 13; 12:8, 13 |
| ארוכה | (Heb.) n. "window" | - pl. ' rwkwt 9:17(×2) |
| ארמאא | n. "Aramaean" | ' rm 45:7 - pl. ' rm'y 51:3; 52:5; 53:3; 54:4 |
| ארעא | n. "earth" | 13:5 ' r'h 14:5; 16:6; 17:5; 20:7; 21:8; 22:6; 23:1; 55:8; 64:6 |

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| אשה | (Heb.) n. “woman, wife” | - pl. nšym 25:1 |
| אשלמתא | n. “spell”; perhaps a type of demon, “spell demon” | 53:4 |
| אשתקופתא | n. “blow demon” | 45:7, 8 |
| את | pron. “you” (masc. sg.) | 25:10(×3) |
| אתה | (Heb.) pron. “you” (masc. sg.) | 9:16(×2) |
| אתן | pron. “you” (masc. pl.) | 13:6; 23:4; 25:7; 58:2 |
| אתי | vb. “come” | - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. ’t 15:5; 23:3; 25:6, 7; 35:3; ’th 18:4; 19:11 - impf. 2 p. masc. sg. tyty 48:2; 49:2 3 p. masc. pl. ytnw 46:10 - ptc. masc. sg. ’ty 55:11 af. “bring” - pf. 1 p. sg. ’ytyty 21:10; 22:8; ’ytytyt 13:7 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. mytyn’ 18:10; 48:8, 9; 49:7(×2) haf. “bring” - pf. 1 p. sg. hytyyyt 17:6; 20:8 |
| אתין | pron. “you” (fem. pl.) | 16:8 |
| אתרא | n. “place” | - abs. ’tr 55:6(×2); 57:6; 61:4; 63:7; 64:2 - cstr. ’tr 55:12 - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. pl. ’trkyn 64:3 |
| ב | | |
| ב | (1) prep. of place/time “in, into, at, during, by, among”; + inf. cstr. “when” | 1:4, 5(×2), 6(×3), 8; 2:5, 6(×8), 9, 12(×2); 3:6(×4), 9; 4:4, 6(×5), 9, 13(×2); 5:4(×3), 7; 6:5, 6(×3), 8, 13(×2); 7:6(×3), 7(×2), 9; 8:7(×2); 9:5(×5), 8, 13(×2); 10:6(×5); 11:7(×2), 8(×9), 12(×4), 13(×8), 18; 12:7(×7), 8(×3), 11, 12(×8), 17; 13:3; 14:1; 15:11(×4); 17:3(×2); 19:13(×2); 20:4, 5; 21:2, 6; 22:2, 4; 23:2, 3; 24:10; 25:2(×2), 3, 6, 7(×3), 10; 26:5; 27:5; 28:8, 10; 29:5, 8(×2), 9(×2); 30:10; 31:5; 32:6; 33:4; 34:7; 35:4, 11; 37:6, 9(×3); 38:4; 39:8; 40:2; 41:6; 42:4; 43:6; 44:4, 5, 10; 45:3, 8(×2); 46:5, 10(×2); 47:5, 8(×3), 11; 48:3, 9; 49:3, 7; 50:9; 51:7; 52:10; 53:7; 54:7; 55:11, 13(×3); 56:4, 6, 9(×2); 57:4; 59:4(×4), 6; 61:3; 63:4; 64:2, 3, 4, 6(×2), 7, 8(×2) by- 3:6; 11:7; 12:7, 12; 18:8 (byb!); 25:9; 28:8; 39:9; 43:10; 47:8; 59:6 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. bh 24:7, 9; byh 15:5, 6; 18:5; 19:9, 11 3 p. fem. sg. bh 4:15; 9:15, 18 2 p. masc. pl. bkwn 46:11 |

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| | (2) prep. of agent “by, through” | 1:4, 11; 2:5, 11, 13(×2); 3:4; 4:4, 12, 14(×3); 6:4, 15; 7:2, 5; 9:3, 14(×3), 16, 18; 10:4; 11:3; 12:3; 13:4; 14:4; 15:2, 8, 11(×5), 12(×3), 13(×3), 14; 16:5; 17:4; 18:9(×2); 19:8, 9, 10; 21:7; 22:4; 24:1, 6(×4), 7, 8, 10, 12(×5); 25:2, 9(×2), 10, 11; 27:8; 28:10(×2); 29:9; 30:13; 31:8; 34:1, 3; 37:9; 40:5; 42:7; 43:10; 46:8; 47:2, 8, 11; 48:4, 5; 49:3, 4; 50:9, 11(×3), 12; 51:2, 7, 9(×4); 52:10, 12(×3); 53:8, 9(×2), 10(×2); 54:8, 9(×3), 10; 55:9, 10; 56:9; 57:1; 59:5; 60:8(×2); 64:1, 7(×2) by- 3:12; 5:10; 9:11; 11:9 (!), 15; 12:9 (!), 14; 15:9, 12, 13; 19:3, 8(×2), 9, 12; 26:3(×2), 4; 57:6; 58:4; 60:10; 61:4(×2); 62:1, 5, 6; 63:7(×2); 64:4, 6(×2), 7 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. bhwn 13:5(×3), 6; 14:4, 5(×2); 16:6(×2), 7(×2); 17:5(×2), 6; 20:7(×3), 8; 21:8(×2), 9(×2); 22:6, 7(×2), 8 |
| | (3) prep. of instrument “with, by (means of), in” | 6:13; 9:13, 14; 13:8(×2); 14:7; 15:10(×2); 16:4(×2); 17:7; 18:10; 20:9; 21:6(×2), 12(×3); 22:9; 24:11(×3); 25:11; 26:1, 5(×2), 6; 27:5, 9; 28:7(×2); 29:6, 8; 30:10, 13; 31:5, 9; 32:7; 34:12; 35:3, 4; 36:4; 37:6, 9(×2); 38:4; 39:5; 40:2, 4, 5(×3), 6 (!); 41:9; 42:5, 8; 43:6, 9; 44:5; 46:5, 9(×2); 47:5; 56:7, 9; 59:6; 60:9; 62:6(×2); 64:3(×2), 6(×2) by- 9:13; 13:8 (!); 25:3; 26:5 |
| | (4) prep. of accompaniment “with” | 11:15, 17; 12:14, 17; 15:8; 24:5; 57:5 |
| | (5) prep. “in respect of, over” | 21:7; 51:6; 52:8; 53:6; 54:6; 55:6 |
| | (6) prep. “subject to, under” | 26:3(×3), 4(×3) |
| | (7) prep. “as” | 64:8(×2) |
| | (8) with vb.s, marking obj. (ordered by the vb. immediately preceding it) | ḤBL <i>pa.</i> + b- 34:11 ḤṬY + b- 40:5(×2); + 3 p. masc. pl. bhwn 40:5 NG' + 3 p. fem. sg. bh 34:2 NZQ <i>af.</i> + b- 23:4; + by- 25:6 SBR <i>pa.</i> + 3 p. fem. sg. bh 48:6, 7; 49:6 PG' + b- 2:8; 3:9; 4:9; 5:6; 6:8; 7:9; 8:5; 9:8; + 3 p. masc. sg. byh 1:8(×2); 2:8, 9; 3:9(×2); 4:9(×2); 5:6, 7; 6:8(×2); 7:9(×2); 8:5; 9:8(×2); 10:9 RDP + b- 1:10(×6); 2:10(×3); 3:11(×5); 4:11(×6); 5:9(×3); 6:10(×4); 7:11(×4); 9:10(×7); + by- 9:10(×2) RQ' <i>pa.</i> + 3 p. masc. pl. bhwn 26:6 |
| | (9) in a location | - bgw “within” 25:4 - bzmn qryb “soon” 9:16; byzmn qryb “soon” 7:3 - bmwtwt “by request (of), please” 9:17 - b'gl' / b'glh “swiftly” 7:3; 9:16; 55:9 - bqwš' “in truth, truthfully, faithfully” 15:13 |
| י | (1) (Heb.) prep. “in” | 9:16; 25:3 |
| | (2) (Heb.) prep. of agent “by, through” | by- 59:1 |
| | (3) (Heb.) prep. of instrument “with” | 9:16; 25:1(×3), 2(×2) |
| | (4) (Heb.) in a location | - bbqšh “by request (of), please” 9:17 |

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| בבא | n. "door, gate" | 63:11 |
| בבל בביל | (Heb.) n. "Babylonia" | bbyl 26:5 |
| בהל | vb. "hurry" | pa. "agitate" - impf. 2 p. masc. pl. with 3 p. masc. sg. pron. suffix tbhlwnh 58:4 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| בזע | vb. "pierce, split" | itpe. "be split" - pf. 3 p. masc. pl. 'yytbz'ww 17:5; 20:7; 'ytbz'w 13:5; 22:6 |
| בטל | vb. "cease" | itpa. "be abolished" - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tybtlyn 9:15 |
| בין | prep. "between, among, whether" | 1:5; 7:6; 11:6(×2); 12:6(×2); 25:3 bn 1:5; 2:6(×2); 3:5, 6; 4:6(×2); 5:4(×2); 6:5; 9:4(×2); 10:5, 6 - in the expression byn ... wbyn "whether ... or" 25:4–5 - in the expression byn d- ... wbyn d- "whether ... or" 23:2–3; 25:5 |
| בינא | n. "tamarisk" | 44:10 |
| ביסרא | See בישרא. | |
| ביריתא | n. "alley" | - pl. byryt' 44:5 |
| ביש | adj. "evil" | 28:10; 53:2; 54:2 byš' 48:2, 5, 6; 49:5; 60:6 - fem. sg. byšt' 1:8(×2), 9, 10; 2:7, 8, 9(×2); 3:9(×2), 10, 11; 4:8, 9, 10, 11, 12; 5:6, 7, 8; 6:8(×2), 11, 12, 13, 14; 7:9(×2), 10, 11; 8:6; 9:8(×2), 9, 11, 12, 13, 14; 10:8; 11:11; 12:9, 10; 48:3(×2); 49:2; 50:3, 6; 52:6; 53:5; 54:5; 55:2; 57:3(×2); 64:5 - for the expression 'yn' byšt' , see 'yn' . - masc. pl. byšy 48:8, 9; 49:7, 8; byšyn 21:5; 50:5; 51:4; 52:6; 53:4; 54:5; 57:4; 60:11; 61:3; 63:4; byšn 21:4 - fem. pl. byšn 3:4, 5; 4:15; 6:4; 37:3 byšt' 1:5; 2:5; 4:5; 5:3; 7:6; 9:4; 10:5; 12:5; 16:3, 8; 25:8; 55:8, 10, 11; 64:9(×2) |
| בישרא ביסרא | n. "flesh" | - cstr. bysr 40:1 |

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| ביתא | n. "house" | 16:9; 25:10, 12; 38:3; 45:2; 58:5 - cstr. byt - in the expression byt gylglyhy d'ynh "her eye-sockets" 1:6, 10; 2:6–7, 10; 3:6, 11(bt); 4:6–7; 5:4; 7:7, 11; 10:6, 11 - in the expression byt myškbyhwn "their sleeping quarters" 55:12–13 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. byth 62:4; bytyh 13:3, 7; 15:1, 9, 12; 17:3, 7; 18:8, 9; 19:6; 20:5, 8; 21:6, 10; 22:4, 9; 25:4, 8; 26:1; 27:3, 8; 29:4; 30:9, 12; 31:3, 7; 32:5, 9; 36:1, 2, 5; 37:5, 8; 39:3; 41:4; 42:3, 7; 46:4, 7; 47:4, 7; 48:3, 8; 49:3, 6; 57:4, 5; 61:3; 63:1, 4 3 p. fem. sg. byth 15:10; 23:5; 24:4; 25:4; 28:10; 29:7; 34:5, 10; 43:4, 9; 45:6(×2); bytyh 40:4; 50:9; 51:6, 7; 52:10; 53:7(×2); 54:7 3 p. masc. pl. bythwn 40:1; btyhwn 19:13 - pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. btyhwn 55:12 |
| בכין | adv. "then" | 13:6; 14:6; 16:7; 17:6; 20:8; 21:9; 22:8 |
| בלם | vb. "stop up, restrain" | - ptc. masc. pl. blmyn 64:2 |
| בן | (Heb.) n. "son" | - cstr. bn 1:8; 2:8, 9; 3:9(×2); 4:9(×2); 5:7(×2); 6:8; 7:9; 8:5(×2); 9:8(×2); 15:2, 8, 12; 26:2 byn 1:8 |
| בעי | vb. "ask, request" | - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. b'yn' 15:13 |
| בעלא | n. "husband" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. b'lh 24:10; 34:12; 55:12 |
| בקש | (Heb.) vb. "request" | <i>pi.</i> "request" - ptc. masc. sg. mbqyš 9:17 |
| בקשה | (Heb.) n. "request" | - for the expression bbqšh , see b- . |
| ברא (1) | n. "son, child" | - cstr. br 2:3; 13:2, 3, 7; 14:3, 6, 7; 15:2, 9; 16:2, 4, 9; 17:3, 4, 7; 19:2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13; 20:2, 4, 5; 21:3, 6(×2), 10; 22:3, 4; 23:4, 5; 24:2, 6, 8(×2), 11; 25:2, 4, 6, 7, 9(×2); 26:1, 3, 4, 5(×2), 6; 27:1, 4, 8; 28:3, 7; 29:2, 4, 8; 30:9, 11, 12; 31:1, 4, 8; 32:1, 5, 10; 34:12; 36:1, 2, 3; 37:5, 8; 39:4, 8; 40:4; 42:1, 3, 7; 44:8; 45:4; 46:4, 8, 9; 47:4, 11; 48:3, 8; 49:3, 6(×2); 55:12; 56:2, 9; 57:4(×2); 58:1, 3, 5; 59:4, 7; 60:11; 61:3(×2); 62:4; 63:2, 4(×2), 5, 6(×2) - pl. bny 34:8; 50:7(×2); 51:5(×2); 52:7(×2); 53:5(×2); 54:6(×2); bnyn 34:2, 11; 40:1, 5; 47:10; 55:10, 13; 57:5 - cstr. bny 11:18; 12:18; 23:4; 25:6; 48:4; 57:7; 61:5; 63:8; 64:1, 3, 4 - in the expression bny 'ygyr "roof demons" 59:3 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. bnwhy 21:11; 61:4; bnyh 26:1; 48:8 3 p. fem. sg. bnh 43:9; bnyh 51:6 3 p. masc. pl. bnhwn 35:3 |

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| | n. fem. "daughter" | <p>- cstr. bt 1:2, 6(×4), 7(×2), 9, 10; 2:3, 7(×7), 10, 11, 12, 14; 3:3, 7(×6), 11; 4:3, 7(×7), 10, 11, 13; 5:2, 5(×6), 8; 6:2, 6, 7(×4), 10, 15; 7:2, 4, 7(×5), 8(×3), 10, 11; 8:4(×4), 7; 9:2, 5, 6(×6), 9, 10, 12, 15, 18; 10:2, 4, 6, 7(×5), 11; 11:9(×2), 10(×3), 11, 12, 14, 17, 18; 12:2, 9(×6), 11, 12, 13, 17, 18; 15:10; 16:4; 17:2, 4, 7; 19:2, 7; 20:2, 5, 9; 23:5; 24:5, 10, 13; 25:2, 4; 28:10; 29:2, 5, 7; 31:4, 8; 32:5, 10; 34:1, 5, 8, 10; 35:3; 36:1, 2, 3; 37:2, 8; 38:4; 39:8; 40:3, 4(×2); 41:8; 43:2, 5; 45:4; 46:4, 8; 47:1, 4, 7 (!), 7, 10(×2); 48:4, 7, 8; 49:6; 50:1, 8, 9; 51:1, 6, 7; 52:2, 9, 10; 53:1, 6, 7; 54:1, 7, 8; 55:1, 2, 3(×2), 4(×2), 7, 9, 12, 14; 56:3, 5, 7, 9; 57:5; 58:1, 3, 5; 59:5, 7; 62:4; 64:5, 8, 9 - in the expression bt brt' "granddaughter" 40:2 - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. brth (!) 38:2; bt brth 27:3; 29:4; 30:9; 31:3; 32:4; 33:2; 34:5; 36:2, 3; 39:3; 42:3; 43:4; 46:3; 47:3; bt brtyh 45:2 - pl. - abs. bnwn 57:5; bnn 55:10 - cstr. bnt 14:8; 22:10; 24:13 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. bntwhy 21:11; bntwhy 61:4</p> |
| ברא (2) | adj. "outer" | 63:11 |
| בראשית | (Heb.) a phrase meaning "in the beginning"; used as a n. "creation" | 27:9; 28:9; 29:9; 30:14; 31:9; 37:10; 39:10; 42:8; 46:9; 47:9 bryšyt 40:6 bršyt 25:5, 6 |
| ברדא | n. "ice" | 11:17; 12:17 |
| ברי (1) | vb. "create" | - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. br' 57:6; 59:5; 61:4; 63:7 |
| ברי (2) | vb. "be strong, be healthy" | - impf. 3 p. masc. pl. ybry'w 58:2 |
| ברכה | (Heb.) n. "blessing" | - pl. cstr. brkwt 28:10 |
| בת | See ברא (1). | |
| ג | | |
| גאווה | (Heb.) n. "pride, majesty" | 9:16 |
| גבא | n. "back" | - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. pl. gbykwn 19:5 2 p. fem. pl. gbykyn 15:5; 18:4; 24:4; 62:3 |
| גבורתא | n. "mighty act" | - pl. gbwrt' 35:6 |
| גבינא | n. "eyelid" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. gbynh 11:7, 13; 12:7, 12 |

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| גברא | n. "man" | 45:8 - pl. gbry 64:3, 4 |
| גו | See -ב. | |
| גוהא | n. "rumbling" | 9:13 |
| גונא | n. "manner, way, resemblance" | - abs. gwn 40:5 - pl. gwny 64:5; gwnyn 40:5 |
| גופא | n. "body" | 2:13; 6:13; 9:13 |
| גזירתא | n. "decree" | 64:2 |
| גזר | vb. "decree" | - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. gz 26:2 |
| גיבר | (1) adj. "strong, mighty" | - masc. sg. gbr' 36:4; gybr' 27:5; 29:6; 30:10; 31:5; 32:7; 34:7; 37:6; 38:4; 39:5; 40:2; 41:6; 42:5; 43:6; 44:5; 45:3; 46:6; 47:5 - masc. pl. gbryn 18:10 |
| | (2) n. "mighty one, hero" | 25:9 - masc. pl. gybry' 25:9, 10 |
| גיהנם | n. "Gehenna" | gyhynn 59:6 |
| גיטא | n. "deed", often used specifically for "deed of divorce" | 13:2; 14:2; 15:5, 6; 16:3, 5; 17:3, 4; 18:4; 19:3, 9, 11; 20:4, 5; 21:3, 7; 22:4; 23:3; 25:6, 7(×2); 35:3; 44:7; 50:1, 8, 12; 51:1, 6, 9; 52:1, 8, 13; 53:1, 6, 10; 54:1, 7, 10; 55:1; 56:4; 59:1; 60:5 gt' 36:5 gyth 18:5; 24:6, 8 - abs. gyt 60:5 - cstr. gt' 21:7, 12; 22:4; 24:13; gyt 13:8; 14:2, 8; 16:5; 17:4; 20:5; 50:8; 51:6; 52:8; 53:6; 54:7; 60:10 - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. gt'ky 36:5; gytyky 14:3; 24:13; 27:7; 30:11, 12; 31:7; 32:9; 34:10; 39:7; 41:7; 42:6; 43:8; 46:6, 7; 47:6; 60:10, 12; gytky 40:3; 58:5 - pl. gyty 14:3; 27:7; 28:6; 29:7; 30:12; 31:6; 32:8; 34:9; 37:7; 38:6; 39:7; 40:3; 42:6; 44:7; 45:5; 46:6; 47:6; 64:8 - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. gytyky 19:10; 24:7; gytky 62:4 2 p. masc. pl. gytykwn 19:10; 57:4; 61:3; 63:4; 64:8 2 p. fem. pl. gytykyn 15:9; 24:7; gytkyn 62:5 |
| גילגלא | See גלגלא. | |
| גילדא גלדא | n. "skin" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. gldhwn 26:6 |
| גילוי | See גלוי. | |
| גיסא | n. "loins" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. gysh 11:8, 13; 12:8, 12 |

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| גיסנא | n. used as parallel to mḥtn “descent” | - pl. cstr. gysny 15:14 |
| גלגלא גילגלא | n. “sphere, wheel” | - pl. gygly 44:10 - cstr. gylgly 11:17; 12:17 - for the expression byt gylglyhy d’ynh , see byt . |
| גלדא | See גילדא. | |
| גלה | (Heb.) vb. “be uncovered” | <i>pi</i> . “reveal, disclose” - pf. 2 p. masc. sg. gylt’ 9:16 |
| גלוי גילוי | (Heb.) n. “empty space”; see the introduction to I.2.1 | 13:4; 21:8; 22:6 gylw 16:6; gylwy 14:4; 17:5; 20:7 |
| גלי | vb. “uncover” | <i>itpa</i> . “be revealed” - impf. 3 p. masc. sg. nytgly 15:14 |
| גלף | vb. “carve” | - pass. ptc. masc. sg. glyp 28:8; 29:9; 30:13; 34:13; 37:10; 39:9; 40:6; 41:9; 46:9; 47:9 |
| גנבא | n. “thief” | - pl. gnbyn 18:10 |
| גנונא | n. “protector” | 63:7 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. gnwnyh 61:5 |
| גנזא | n. “treasure house” | - pl. - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. gnzyk 18:9 |
| גרבניתא | n. “itchy” (epithet of demons) | 1:7; 2:8; 3:8(×2); 5:6; 6:7; 9:7; 11:11; 12:10 grbnyt 4:8 (see also Morgenstern’s discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| ד | | |
| -ד | (1) conj. “(in order) that” | 1:9; 3:10; 4:10, 14; 5:8; 6:15; 7:10; 9:9, 15; 11:11; 12:11; 14:3; 15:13; 17:1; 19:1; 20:1; 24:5, 9; 26:2; 27:5; 28:4; 29:5; 30:10; 31:5; 32:6; 33:4; 34:7; 35:11; 37:6; 40:2 (b-!); 42:4; 43:6; 46:5; 47:5; 48:2; 50:7; 51:5; 52:7; 53:6; 54:6; 55:8; 56:2; 59:6; 60:10; 61:3; 62:6; 63:4; 64:7 dy- 15:7; 19:7; 38:3; 55:5 |
| | (2) “for” | 1:10; 2:10; 3:11; 4:10; 5:9; 6:10; 7:11; 9:10; 13:7 (d’!); 14:7; 17:7; 20:9; 22:9; 23:4; 64:5 dy- 19:7; 50:8; 51:6; 52:8; 53:6; 54:7 |

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| | (3) genitive marker “of” | <p>1:6(×2), 10(×5), 11; 2:7, 10(×4), 11, 13; 3:6, 7, 11(×4), 12; 4:3, 7(×2), 10(×2), 11, 12, 14(×2); 5:4(×2), 8(×2), 10; 6:10, 15(×2); 7:7(×2), 10, 11(×3), 12, 15; 9:5, 10(×3), 11, 14, 15, 18; 10:6(×2), 11; 11:9, 14, 17, 18(×2); 12:8, 13, 14, 17, 18(×2); 13:3, 7; 15:2(×2), 8, 9(×2), 10(×2), 11, 12(×3), 13; 16:4(×2), 9(×2); 17:3, 4; 18:7; 19:3, 7, 8(×2), 9, 12; 20:5(×2), 9; 21:6(×2), 10; 22:4, 9; 23:5; 24:1, 5, 6(×2), 7, 10, 11(×3); 25:4(×2), 9(×2); 26:1, 2, 3(×4), 4(×4), 5; 27:1, 2(×2), 3, 4, 5(×2), 8; 28:5, 6, 7, 10; 29:4(×2), 5, 6, 7, 8(×3); 30:8(×2), 9(×2), 10, 12, 13; 31:2(×2), 3(×2), 5(×2), 8; 32:1, 2, 3, 4, 5(×2), 7(×2), 9; 33:1, 2; 34:5, 10; 35:3, 4, 7(×2), 9; 36:1(×3), 2(×2), 3(×2), 4; 37:4, 5(×2), 8(×2), 9(×2); 38:1, 2(×2), 4; 39:1, 5, 7, 8(×2); 40:1, 2(×4), 4(×2), 5(×3); 41:8, 9; 42:1, 2(×2), 3(×2), 4, 5, 7; 43:3(×2), 4, 5; 44:2, 5; 45:1(×2), 2, 7(×6) + 7 (m!); 46:1, 2, 3, 4(×2), 6, 8(×2), 9(×2); 47:2, 3(×2), 4, 5, 7(×2), 8(×2); 48:2(×2), 3, 4(×2), 5, 7, 8(×2), 9; 49:1, 4, 6, 7; 50:1, 4, 6, 7, 9(×2), 11, 12(×2); 51:1, 3(×2), 5, 7, 9(×4); 52:1, 4, 5, 7(×2), 10(×2), 12(×2), 13; 53:3(×2), 5(×2), 7, 8, 9, 10(×3); 54:1, 3(×3), 4(×2), 5, 6, 7, 8, 9(×2), 10(×2); 55:11; 56:4, 7, 8; 57:4, 6(×2); 58:4, 5; 59:1, 4, 8; 61:3, 4(×2), 5; 62:1, 4(×2), 6(×4); 63:2, 7(×2); 64:2, 3, 4, 6, 7(×2)</p> <p>dy- 11:8; 12:18; 19:3; 47:4; 51:2, 3; 52:3; 53:2; 54:2; 56:5</p> |
| | (4) rel. pron. “(the one) that, who, which, where” | <p>1:4, 5(×3), 11; 2:5, 6(×3), 10(×2), 11; 3:5, 6(×2), 9; 4:4, 5, 6(×2), 12, 13, 14, 15; 5:4(×2), 5, 8; 6:3, 5(×2), 6, 13, 15; 7:4, 6(×2), 7, 10, 11, 12; 9:2, 4(×2), 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15(×2), 18(×2); 10:2, 4, 5(×2), 6(×2), 7, 11; 11:6, 7, 9, 17(×2); 12:6(×3), 17; 13:3; 14:1, 4; 15:5, 14; 16:3; 17:2; 19:3; 20:3, 4; 21:5, 6, 8, 11(×3); 22:4, 6; 23:2, 3(×2), 4; 24:4, 5, 8, 9, 13; 25:5, 6, 7, 9(×2), 10; 26:2, 5; 27:6; 28:5, 7, 8, 10(×2); 29:6, 9; 30:9, 11, 13; 31:3, 5; 32:5, 7; 34:3, 7, 9(×2), 12(×2); 35:3, 4(×2), 6, 7; 36:2(×2), 4; 37:6; 38:3, 5; 39:5; 40:2, 3, 5(×3); 41:6, 9; 42:3, 5; 43:2, 4, 5, 6; 44:3, 5; 45:2; 46:4, 9, 10; 47:3, 5, 10, 11; 48:3, 9, 10; 49:3, 6, 7; 50:1, 2, 7, 8, 9; 51:1(×2), 5, 6, 7; 52:1, 2, 7, 9(×2); 53:1, 5, 7(×2); 54:1, 2, 6, 7; 55:3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13; 56:3, 7(×3), 8; 57:4, 5(×2), 7; 58:2; 59:3, 8; 61:3, 5; 63:4, 5(×2), 6(×4), 7(×2), 8; 64:1(×2)</p> <p>dy- 1:4, 6, 8, 9; 2:5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14; 3:5, 7, 9(×2); 4:5, 7, 9(×3), 14; 5:3, 5, 6, 7(×2); 6:8(×2), 9, 15; 7:5, 9(×3); 9:3, 6, 8(×3), 15; 10:7, 8, 9; 11:5; 12:5; 13:5; 15:7, 8(×2), 12, 13, 14; 16:6; 17:5; 18:6; 19:8, 10, 12; 20:7; 21:5; 23:3; 25:4, 6, 10; 30:3; 48:7, 9; 49:7; 50:8; 51:1, 6; 52:1, 8; 53:1, 6; 54:1, 6; 55:2, 3, 4(×2), 5, 11; 61:4; 63:7</p> |
| | (5) in a locution | <p>- kd- “just as” 23:4 (cf. <i>DJBA</i>, 580)</p> <p>- km’/kmh d-/dy- “just as, like” 11:1; 3:12; 4:11; 5:9; 6:11; 7:12; 9:11; 11:14; 12:13; 27:6; 28:5; 29:7; 30:11; 31:6; 32:8; 37:7; 38:5; 39:6; 40:3; 42:6; 45:5; 46:6; 47:6, 11; 64:8</p> <p>- see also byn for byn d- ... wbyn d- “whether ... or”</p> <p>- see also m(y)hmt d- “because”</p> <p>- see also mn qdm d- “because”</p> |
| דא | dem. pron. “this” (fem.) | 9:18; 62:5 |
| דבר | (Heb.) vb. “speak” | <p><i>pi.</i> “speak”</p> <p>- ptc.</p> <p>masc. sg. mydbr 9:16</p> |
| דוכרנא | n. “remembrance; memorandum” | <p>- cstr.</p> <p>dwkrwn 19:11; dwkrn 15:7; 24:9</p> <p>- with pron. suffix</p> <p>2 p. masc. pl. dwkrnkwn 19:9</p> <p>2 p. fem. pl. dwkrnkyn 15:6, 7, 8, 9; 18:6; 24:7</p> |

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| דון | vb. "judge" | - ptc. masc. sg. d'yn 59:6 |
| דחל | vb. "fear" | <i>pa.</i> "frighten" - ptc. masc. pl. mdhlyn 21:7 |
| דחק | vb. "push" | - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. dhq 2:13; 4:14; 6:15; 9:15 |
| דיברא | n. "(open) field" | 15:3 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| דיוא | n. " <i>dēv</i> " (type of demon) | 25:10 - masc. pl. dyw 36:1; dywn 26:6; dywy 13:6; 14:5; 17:6; 20:7; 21:9; 22:7; 27:2; 29:6; 30:8; 11; 31:2; 32:3; 34:7; 37:7; 39:6; 40:3(×2); 42:2; 43:7; 46:1; 47:6; 48:2; 49:1, 5; 59:2; dywyn 9:14; 14:8; 27:6; 31:6; 32:7; 35:1(×2), 2; 42:5; 58:3 |
| דיכרא | n. "male" (often as adj.) | 14:2; 19:4; 25:2; 59:3; 62:1; 64:8 - abs. dkr 24:2; 25:5; 50:9; 51:7; 52:10; 53:8; 54:8 - pl. dykry 16:3; 25:8; 44:6; 64:9; dykryn 21:4 |
| דיל- | poss. pron. | - with pron. suffix 1 p. sg. dyly 26:5 3 p. fem. sg. dylyh 50:7; 51:5; 52:7; 53:5; 54:6 |
| דין דן | dem. pron. "this" (masc.) | 4:2; 7:2, 5, 14; 17:1, 8; 19:1, 3; 20:1; 21:12; 22:10; 27:9 (!); 31:9 (!); 32:11 (!); 38:6; 42:8 (!); 44:11; 45:5, 6, 8; 46:8; 56:1, 4; 59:1; 64:9 dyyn 20:9 dn 9:16 |
| דירא דרא | n. "dwelling place" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. drh 45:6 |
| דירתא | n. "dwelling" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. dyrtyh 19:6; 25:9; 28:6; 36:5; 37:8; 39:7; 46:7; 59:4; drtyh 27:8; 31:7; 42:7 3 p. fem. sg. dyrt'h 40:4; dyrth 15:9; 24:5; 29:7; 34:10; 41:8; 43:5 3 p. masc. pl. dyrthwn 55:12; d'rtyhwn 19:13 |
| דכר | vb. "mention" | - pass. ptc. masc. sg. dkyr 21:5(×2) <i>af.</i> "recite" - pf. 1 p. sg. 'dkryt 64:7 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. mdkryn' 48:5; 49:4 |
| דלק | vb. "burn" | - ptc. masc. sg. d'lyq 15:13; dlyq 59:6 |
| דם | (Heb.) n. "blood" | 9:16 |
| דמא | n. "blood" | - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. dmky 47:10 3 p. masc. pl. dmyhwn 26:6 |

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| דמותא | n. "form, figure" | - abs. dmw 35:7; 56:9 - cstr. dmwt 25:3; 64:3(×2) |
| דמי | vb. "be similar" | <i>itpe.</i> "resemble, appear in the guise of" - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tyddmyn 40:5 - ptc. fem. sg. mydmy' 35:10 sg. with 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. mydmyt 64:6 masc. pl. mydmyn 64:3, 4 fem. pl. mydmn 35:7 |
| דן | See דין. | |
| דנן | dem. pron. "this" (masc.) | 13:3; 55:8; 56:8; 62:5 |
| דעדקא | See דרדקא. | |
| דרא | n. "generation" | - pl. cstr. dwry 56:4 |
| דרא | See דירא. | |
| דרדקא דעדקא | n. "boy, child" | - pl. d'dqy 38:3; d'rdqy 46:5; drdqy 34:6; 37:6; 39:4; 41:5; 43:5; 44:4; 47:5; drdrqy 30:10; dr̥dqy 27:4; 31:4; 42:4 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. ddqyhwn 25:5; d'dqyhwn 23:2 |
| | n. (fem.) "girl" | - pl. d'dqth 38:3; d'rdqt' 46:5; drdqwnyt' 34:6; drdqth' 29:5; 30:10; 39:5; 43:6; 45:3; 47:5; drdqth't' 37:6; dr̥dqth' 27:4; 31:4; dr̥t̥t' (!) 42:4 |
| דתא | n. "law" | - cstr. dt 13:8; 14:8(×2); 21:12; 22:10; 60:10 |
| ה | | |
| -ה | (Heb.) def. art. "the" | <i>passim</i> |
| הא אא -ה | int. "behold" | 21:2; 27:6(×2); 31:6(×2); 32:8(×2); 34:8; 38:5(×2); 40:3(×2); 42:5(×2); 44:6, 7, 8; 46:6(×3) " 45:4 h- 28:5(×2); 29:6(×2); 33:5(×2); 37:7(×2); 43:7; 45:4; 47:6(×2) |
| הדא | dem. pron. "this" (fem.) | 17:2, 4, 7; 19:2, 7; 20:2, 5(!), 9; 26:2; 34:8; 44:10; 51:6; 52:9; 53:6; 54:7; 56:3, 9 h'd' 40:2, 4 |
| הדין | dem. pron. "this" (masc.) | 11:17; 12:17; 13:3; 17:3, 7; 19:2, 7, 12; 20:2, 5, 9; 21:6, 10(×2), 13; 22:4; 25:10, 12; 35:3, 4; 48:3, 5; 49:3, 4; 50:1; 51:1; 52:1; 53:1; 54:1; 55:11, 13; 56:2, 8; 64:8 h'dyn 40:2, 6 hdn 45:6 |

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| הדמא | n. "limb, member" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. hdmh 9:10 - pl. hdmyn 4:15; 9:15, 18 - pl. cstr. hdm 4:11, 15; 9:5, 15; 11:9, 14; 12:8, 13; hdmwhy (!) 6:6 |
| הדר | vb. "return, come back"; see the introduction to I.2.2 | - impf. 2 p. masc. pl. tyhdrwn 64:9 - ptc. masc. pl. hdryn 14:3; 27:7; 28:6; 29:7; 30:12; 31:7; 32:9; 34:9; 36:5; 40:3; 41:7; 42:6; 43:8; 46:7; 47:6; 64:9; hdrn 38:6; 45:5 |
| ההיא | dem. pron. "that" (fem. sg.) | 2:9; 3:9; 4:9; 5:7; 6:8; 7:9; 9:8; 10:9 hhhy (!) 1:8; hhy 23:4 |
| הוא | pron. "he, it" | 17:3; 20:3; 21:2; 59:6 - as copula 19:3; 27:6; 28:5; 29:6; 30:11; 31:5; 34:7; 36:4; 37:6; 39:5; 41:6; 42:5; 43:6; 44:5; 47:5, 11; 48:9; 49:7; 55:11(×2); 56:4; 57:7; 61:5; 63:8 hy 3 p. fem. sg. "she, it" - as copula 11:9, 17; 40:3; hy 25:1 hn 3 p. pl. "they" 58:2 |
| הוי | vb. "be, become"; see also חוי. | - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. hwh 14:1; 17:3; 20:4; 21:2 3 p. fem. sg. hw (!) 25:7; hwt 23:4 - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. thwn 26:2; tyhwy 26:3(×2), 4(×3); tyhwyn 1:9; 4:10; 9:9; 10:10; 54:6; tyhwyn 3:10; 51:5; 52:8; 53:6; 55:5; tyhwn 5:8; 6:9; 7:10; 11:11; 12:11; 50:7; 60:12 3 p. masc. sg. yhwy 4:2; 17:1; 19:1; 20:1; 55:13; 56:2; 64:8 3 p. fem. sg. tyhwy 1:2; 5:1; 7:1, 4; 9:2; 10:1, 4; 11:1; 15:1; 25:12; 29:1; 34:1; 37:1; 43:1; 47:1; 55:1; 63:10; tyyhwy 3:2; thwy 12:1 3 p. masc. pl. yhwyn 55:13; yhwn 6:13; 9:13; nyhwn 35:7 - ptc. masc. sg. hwy 55:3 masc. pl. hwn 21:11; 34:9, 12; 40:5; 57:5; 63:5, 6(×2), 7 |
| היא | See הוא. | |
| היכל | (Heb.) n. "temple, palace" | - cstr. hykl 9:16 |
| הכי | adv. "in this manner, thus" | 19:10 hwky 24:8 |
| הלך | vb. "walk around" | <i>pa.</i> "walk around" - ptc. masc. pl. mhlkyn 64:2 |
| הללויה | (Heb.) "Hallelujah" | 21:13; 22:10; 23:6; 28:9(×2); 29:9, 10; 31:9(×2); 37:10; 39:10; 47:9(×2); 60:12; 61:7; 62:7; 64:10 hllyh 46:10(×2) |
| הן | See הוא. | |

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| הרהורא | n. "(evil) thought" | - masc. pl. hrhwryn 9:14 |
| ו | | |
| -ו | conj. "and, or" | passim (also -וי) w ⁷ - 48:6; 49:5 |
| -ו | (Heb.) conj. "and" | passim |
| ורודק | n. "worodaq" (type of demon) | 25:8, 10 |
| ז | | |
| זה | (Heb.) dem. pron. "this" (masc.) | 35:8 |
| זויתא | n. "corner" | - pl. zwy ^t 45:6 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. zwytyh 57:6 |
| זום | vb. "buzz" | - inf. lmyzm 2:12; 4:13; 6:13; 9:13 |
| זוע | vb. "move, shake" (intransitive) | - impv. masc. pl. z ^w 57:4 qf. "move, shake" (transitive), "cause to shake" - ptc. masc. sg. mzy ^o 57:7; 63:8; mzy ^h 61:5 |
| זידן | adj. "wicked" | - fem. pl. zydynyn 3:4; 4:15; 37:3 zydnyt ^t 25:8 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| זימנא | n. "time" | - for the expression bzm ⁿ qryb, see b-. |
| זיקא | (1) n. "wind" | 64:2, 5 |
| | (2) n. "blast demon" | - masc. pl. zyqyn 1:3; 2:5; 4:4; 57:3; 60:6 |
| זכיא | n. "zakya" (or zakkaya?; type of demon) | 25:8, 10 |
| זמם | See זום. | |
| זמרתא | n. "singing-girl"; see the introduction to I.2.3 | 50:6, 9; 51:5, 7; 52:7, 9; 53:5, 7; 54:6, 7 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| זנאי | adj. "fornicating" | - fem. sg. zny ^t 50:6, 9; 51:5, 7; 52:7, 9; 53:5, 7; 54:6, 7 |
| זרעא | n. "seed, offspring" | 40:5 zr ^h 63:5(×2), 6, 7 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. zr ^y h 63:1 3 p. fem. sg. zr ^h 15:10 |

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| זרעיתא | n. "family" | - cstr. zr'yt 56:7 - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. pl. zr'ytkyn 64:1 |
| ח | | |
| חבל | vb. "become sick" | pa. "damage, injure" - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. thblyn 34:11 3 p. masc. sg. yhblyl 17:6; 20:8 - inf. lhbwly 13:7; lhbl 21:10; 22:8; lhbl' 2:13; 6:13; 9:13 See also myhbl'bl' in 16:7 and accompanying note. |
| חבלא | n. "injury, ruin" | 13:7; 15:13; 17:6; 20:8; 22:8 |
| חברא | n. "friend, companion" | - fem. pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. hbrtyh 52:7; 53:5; 54:6; hybrtyh 50:7 |
| חד | num. "one" | - as indefinite art. "a" 26:2(×2) |
| חדר | (Heb.) n. "chamber" | - pl. cstr. hdry 9:16 |
| חודא | n. "apex, point" (meaning uncertain) | - cstr. hwd 11:8, 13; 12:8, 12 |
| הוי/חוי | vb. "demonstrate, show" | itpe. "appear" - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tyhwn 62:6; tythwn 38:6; tt'hwn 45:5 |
| חומרטא | n. "amulet spirit" (type of demon) | 25:11 - fem. pl. hwmry 25:8(×3); hwmryn 3:4; 4:15; 37:3 |
| חורב חוריב | See חרב. | |
| חזוא חיווא | n. "vision" | hyzwh 35:7 (perhaps with 3 p. masc. sg. pron. suffix) |
| חזי | vb. "see" | - ptc. masc. sg. hzy 4:14; 6:13; 9:13 itpe. "appear" - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tyhzyn 34:11; 56:8; tyhzn 15:10; 24:10; 28:7; 29:8; 40:4; 41:9; 43:9; 47:7 2 p. masc. pl. tyhzn 19:12; 21:11; 64:7, 9 - ptc. fem. sg. myhzyh 34:6 sg. with 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. myhzyt 64:5 masc. pl. myhzn 21:6 fem. pl. myhzy' 16:3 |
| חטטיתא | See חטפיתא. | |
| חטי | vb. "harm" | - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tyhtn 40:5 |

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| חטל | (?) vb. - meaning uncertain; see the introduction to I.1.1 | <i>af.</i> (?) - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. ḥṭl 11:17; 12:17 |
| חטפיתא חטטיתא | n. “snatcher” (type of demon) | 15:3; 24:2 ḥṭṭyt’ (!) 19:4; 62:2 |
| חיבלא | n. “injury, ruin” | 13:7; 14:7 |
| חיווא | See חזוא. | |
| חיוואנא | n. “vision” | 15:10; 40:5 - pl. ḥyzwnyn 21:6, 12 |
| חיטינא | n. “harm” | 51:2, 3; 52:3; 53:2; 54:2, 3(×3) (see also Morgenstern’s discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| חיי | vb. “live” | - ptc. masc. pl. ḥyy 55:13 |
| חיי | adj. “living” | ḥy’ 64:6 |
| חילמא | n. “dream” | 15:10; 16:4; 28:7(×2); 37:9(×2); 40:4; 41:9; 47:8; 62:6 ḥylmh 29:8 ḥlm’ 43:9 - pl. ḥylmyn 21:6, 12 |
| חילקא | See חלקא. | |
| חלבא | n. “milk” | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. ḥlbh 47:10 - pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. pl. ḥlbyhyn 47:10 |
| חלף | vb. “pass, exchange” | <i>itpa.</i> “be replaced, be displaced” - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tyṭḥlpyn 9:15 |
| חלקא חילקא | n. “lot, share” | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. ḥylqh 35:7; ḥlqh 35:3 |
| חמשא | num. “five” | - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. pl. ḥmyštykwn 19:5 2 p. fem. pl. ḥmyštykyn 15:4; 18:3; 62:2; ḥmštykyn 24:3 - pl. “fifty” ḥmšyn 4:15; 9:15, 18 |
| חרב | (Heb.) n. “sword” | 25:1, 2 |
| חרב חורב חורבי | (Heb.) n. “Horeb” | ḥwrb 48:9 ḥwryb 49:7 |
| חרבא | n. “sword” | ḥrbh 56:7 |
| חריב | adj. “ruined, laid waste” | 55:6 |
| חרם | vb. “ban, excommunicate” | - impf. 3 p. masc. pl. yḥrmwn 1:11; 4:11; 5:9; 6:11; 7:12; 9:11 |

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| חרשא | n. "sorcerer" | - pl. ḥršy 13:6; 16:7; 20:7; 21:9; 22:7 |
| חרשי | n. "sorcery" | 50:6(×2); 51:5(×2); 52:6, 7; 53:5(×2); 54:5(×2) |
| חשיא | n. "lungs"; see the introduction to I.1.1 | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. ḥšyh 11:13; 12:7, 12 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| חשיכא | n. "dark one" (type of demon); see the note to JBA 26:4 | - pl. ḥyšyky 26:4 |
| חתם | vb. "seal, sign" | - ptc. fem. sg. ḥtm' 30:3 - pass. ptc. masc. sg. ḥtym 26:1; 28:9; 36:1; 63:1, 10 fem. sg. ḥtym' 26:5 sg. with 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. ḥtymt 24:11; 30:13; 40:5; 46:8; 64:6; ḥtymty 27:9; 32:10; 42:8; 46:9; ḥtymty 31:8 masc. pl. ḥtymy 57:2; 61:2; 63:3; ḥtymyn 21:13; 35:1(×2), 2 pl. with 2 p. masc. pl. encl. pron. ḥtymytwn 25:9, 11 pl. with 2 p. fem. pl. encl. pron. ḥtymytyn 15:12 pa. "seal, double seal" - inf. cstr. with 2 p. fem. pl. pron. suffix ḥtmykyn 55:7 with 3 p. masc. pl. pron. suffix ḥtmhwn 26:6 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. mḥtymn' 11:14; 12:13 - pass. ptc. masc. sg. mḥtm 26:1; 28:9; 63:1 fem. sg. mḥtm' 26:5 pl. with 2 p. masc. pl. encl. pron. mḥtmytwn 25:9 |
| חתם | (Heb.) vb. "seal, sign" | - pass. ptc. masc. sg. ḥtwm 25:3 |
| חתמא | n. "seal" | 50:12; 51:9; 52:13; 53:10; 54:10 - pl. cstr. ḥtmy 64:6 |
| חת[מ(?)א | n. "sealing"; see the note to JBA 34:1 | 34:1 |
| ט | | |
| טבעא | See טיבעא. | |

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| טופרסא | n. "membrane" | - in the expression "pericardium", i.e. the membrane around the heart: with 2 p. fem. sg. pron. suffix ‡wpls lblbky 36:4 ‡wpls lyblbyky 28:4; 29:5–6; 33:4; 37:6; 43:6; 47:5 ‡wprs dlylbky 27:5; 31:5; 32:6–7; 42:4 ‡wprs lybky 38:4; 45:3 ‡wprs lylbky 40:2; 46:5 ‡wrps lylbky 34:7; 35:11 ‡rpsy lybbyky 30:10 pl. with 2 p. masc. pl. pron. suffix ‡wprs lylybkywn 64:7 |
| טורא | n. "mountain" | 16:6; 48:9; 49:7 - pl. ‡wwryh 17:5; 20:7; ‡wry 13:5; ‡wry' 14:5; 21:8; 22:7 |
| טיבעא טבעא | n. "stamp" | - cstr. ‡b' 64:6 |
| טמי | adj. "unclean" | ‡my' 56:6 |
| טמיר | adj. "hidden"; as n. "hidden one" (type of demon) | - masc. pl. ‡myry 17:6; 20:7; ‡myryn 4:13; 6:13; 9:13 |
| טעיתא | n. "error spirit" (type of demon) | - fem. pl. ‡yn 9:14 |
| טרי | See מטריטא. | |
| טרף | vb. "smite" | - ptc. fem. sg. ‡rp' 28:4; 31:4; 32:6; 37:6; 39:4; 41:5; 42:4; 43:5; 46:5; 47:4 |
| י | | |
| יבשתא | n. "dry land" | 59:5 |
| ידא | n. "hand" | - cstr. - in the expression byd "by the hand of, by means of" 35:4 |
| ידע | vb. "know" | - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. yd' (!) 23:2, 3; yd'n' 23:3; 25:5(×3); 48:6(×2); 49:5(×2) fem. sg. yd' 25:7 |
| יהב | vb. "give" | - ptc. masc. sg. yhb 24:7; yhyb 15:9; 19:10 masc. pl. yhbryn 14:3; 40:3; 44:7 |
| יהודא | n. "Jew" | hwd' 45:7 - pl. yhwd'y 50:4; 51:3; 52:4; 53:3; 54:4 |
| יום | (Heb.) n. "day" | - pl. cstr. ywmy 28:9; 37:10; 47:9; ymy 27:9; 29:9; 30:14; 31:9; 32:11; 42:8; 46:9 |

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| יומא | n. "day" | 21:12; 22:10; 38:6; 44:11; 45:6, 8; 46:8; 55:8; 56:8; 64:9 yw'm' 45:5 ywmh 7:2, 5; 9:16; 40:6 - abs. ywm 56:4 - pl. ywmy 56:4; ymy 56:4 - cstr. ywmy 25:5, 6; 47:11 |
| ילד | vb. "give birth, beget" | - ptc. masc. pl. yldyn 64:1 |
| ימא | n. "sea" | 15:5; 23:3; 24:8; 25:6, 7 ymh 2:13; 4:14; 6:15; 9:15; 18:4; 19:11 |
| ימי | vb. "swear" | af. "adjure" - pf. 1 p. sg. 'wmyt 49:1; 'wmyty 19:8; 24:6; 48:1; 60:9 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. mwymn' (!) 6:14; mwymyn' 2:8; 6:7, 9, 12; 8:6; 9:7, 9, 14; 12:10; 30:8; 64:7; mwymynh 1:8, 9; 2:9, 13; 3:8, 10; 4:8, 10, 12, 14; 5:6, 8; 6:14; 7:8, 10; 9:12; 10:8; mwmmn' 27:2, 5; 31:2, 5; 32:3, 6; 36:3; 42:2, 4; 50:8; 51:7; 52:9; 53:7; 54:7 |
| יממא | n. "day, daytime" | 1:10; 11:12; 16:4; 25:3; 28:7; 35:7; 55:13; 56:9; 64:4, 6, 8 ym'm' 40:5 ym'mh 40:5 ymmh 2:10; 3:11; 4:10; 5:8; 6:10; 7:11; 8:7; 9:10; 15:10, 11; 29:8; 37:9; 39:8; 47:8; 62:6 - abs. ymm 45:8 |
| יסור | (Heb.) n. "affliction, punishment" | - pl. cstr. ysrry 9:17 |
| יפתקא | n. "document, certificate" | 35:4 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| יקרא | n. "honour" | 24:6(×2) yqwr' 19:8(×2) - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. yqryh 59:5 |
| ירורא | n. "yaror demon"; perhaps "jackal demon" | - masc. pl. yrwryn 21:4 |
| ישן | (Heb.) vb. "sleep" | - pf. 1 p. sg. yšynty 25:3 |
| ישראל | (Heb.) n. "Israel" | 13:8; 14:8; 21:12; 22:10; 24:13(×2); 60:10 |

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| ית | obj. marker | <p>yyyt 56:8; yt 11:18; 12:18; 35:6; 40:5; 48:2, 3(×2); 49:2(×2); 55:10; 59:6</p> <p>- with pron. suffix</p> <p>2 p. fem. sg. y'tyky 40:3; yytyky 56:5; ytyky 1:11(×2); 2:13; 3:12(×2); 4:11(×3), 14; 5:9(×3); 6:11(×3); 7:11(×2), 12; 9:11(×3), 14; 15:11; 27:6; 28:5; 29:6; 30:11; 31:6; 32:8; 34:8; 36:4; 37:7; 42:6; 46:6; 47:6; ytyky' 45:4; ytky 11:14(×2); 12:13(×3); 39:6</p> <p>2 p. masc. pl. yytkwn 17:6, 7(×2); ytykw 13:7; ytykwn 13:7; ytkwn 9:17; 13:7; 14:7(×3); 20:8(×2), 9; 21:10(×2), 12; 22:8, 9(×2)</p> <p>2 p. fem. pl. ytkyn 55:8</p> <p>3 p. masc. pl. ythwn 21:7; 47:10; 48:10; 49:8</p> |
| יתב | vb. "sit" | <p>- inf.</p> <p>lmytb 2:12; 4:13(×2); 6:12, 13; 9:13(×2)</p> |
| כ | | |
| כ- | See בי. | |
| כ- | (Heb.) prep. "like, as" | - for the expression kngd, see ngd. |
| כבדא | n. "liver" | <p>- with pron. suffix</p> <p>3 p. fem. sg. kbdh 11:8; 12:12</p> |
| כבוד | (Heb.) n. "glory" | 9:17 |
| כבלא | n. "chain" | <p>- pl.</p> <p>kblyn 18:10</p> |
| כבר | adv. "already" | 25:5, 6 |
| כבש | vb. "press down, subdue" | <p>- pf.</p> <p>1 p. sg. with 3 p. masc. pl. pron. suffix kbštynwn 25:3, 4</p> |
| כוכבא | n. "star" | <p>- with pron. suffix</p> <p>3 p. fem. sg. kwkbh 35:3, 6</p> |
| כולא | "every, all, any, whole" | <p>- cstr.</p> <p>kwl 4:3; 6:6; 9:5; 25:9; 40:5; kl 1:3(×2); 2:5; 4:4, 11; 5:9; 6:10; 11:8, 13; 12:8, 12; 13:2; 16:3; 17:2, 3; 19:2; 20:3, 4; 21:3, 5, 11(×3); 24:13; 25:4, 10; 26:4; 28:10; 34:3; 35:6, 7; 37:2; 48:8; 50:2, 5(×2), 7, 8; 51:1, 4(×2), 6(×2); 52:2, 6(×2), 8, 9; 53:1, 2, 4(×2), 6, 7; 54:1, 2, 5(×2), 6; 55:9, 12; 56:3, 4, 9; 57:3, 7; 58:1; 60:6, 11; 61:2, 5; 63:4, 8; 64:1</p> <p>- with pron. suffix</p> <p>3 p. masc. sg. kwlh 53:7; kwlyh 6:13; 9:13; 21:10; 23:2; 27:9; 31:9; 32:11; 42:8</p> <p>3 p. fem. sg. kwlh 56:6; 59:4</p> <p>2 p. masc. pl. kwlkwn 19:5; klkwn 64:7</p> <p>3 p. masc. pl. kwlhwn 25:8, 9, 10; 40:1; kwlhn 26:6; klhwn 25:8</p> <p>3 p. fem. pl. kwlhyn 25:8(×3)</p> <p>- in compound expressions</p> <p>kl my d- "whatever" 15:13</p> |
| כוליתא | n. "kidney" | <p>- with pron. suffix</p> <p>3 p. fem. sg. kwlyth 11:8, 13; 12:8, 12</p> |
| כי כ- | prep. "like, as, according to" | <p>44:10(×3)</p> <p>k- 13:8; 14:8; 21:12; 22:10</p> <p>- for the expression kmyn/kymyn, see myn'.</p> |
| כיס | See כסא or כסי. | |

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| כיפא | n. “stone, rock” | - pl. - cstr. kypy 23:1; 25:3 |
| כל | (Heb.) “all, any” | - cstr. kl 9:17; 25:1(×3), 3 |
| כלבא | n. “dog” (perhaps a type of demon) | klbh 53:3 |
| כלל | See שכלל. | |
| כמא | conj. “as, like” | kmh 16:2 - for the expression km’/kmh d-/dy- , see d- . |
| כנע | vb. “bow down” | <i>itpe.</i> “be subdued” - pf. 3 p. masc. pl. ’ytkn’w 21:8 - impf. 3 p. masc. pl. ytk’w (!) 16:6 |
| כסא | n. “cup, bowl” | 45:6 |
| כסא כיס | (Heb.) n. “throne” | kysy 9:16 - cstr. kysy 9:17 |
| כסי | vb. “cover, hide” | - pass. ptc. as adj. “hidden” masc. sg. kysy 26:2 |
| כסי | (Heb.) vb. “cover, hide” | Perhaps in 9:17(×2); doubtful interpretation—see note to 9:16–17. |
| כען | adv. “now” | 25:9 |
| כף | (Heb.) n. “palm, sole” | - pl. cstr. kpwt 25:9 |
| כפת | vb. “tie up”; see the note to JBA 23:1 | - pf. 1 p. sg. with 3 p. masc. pl. pron. suffix kptynwn 23:1; 25:3, 4 |
| כרז | vb. “ann.ce, make a proclamation” | <i>af.</i> “make a proclamation” - pf. 3 p. masc. pl. ’kryzw 25:7 |
| כרך | vb. “wrap, encircle”; see the introduction to I.1.1. | - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. krk 11:14; 12:13 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. krykn’ 11:14; 12:13 |
| כרכא | n. “(fortified) city” | - pl. krkyn 11:10; 2:11; 3:12; 4:12; 5:9; 6:11; 7:12; 8:8; 9:11; 11:14; 12:14 |
| כרסא | n. “stomach, womb” | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. krsh 11:8, 13; 12:7, 12 |

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| כתב | vb. "write" | <p>- pf. 1 p. sg. kt'byt 40:3; ktbyt 16:2; 27:6; 28:5; 29:6; 30:11; 31:6; 32:8; 33:5; 37:7; 38:5(×2); 42:5; 43:7; 44:6; 45:4; 46:6; 47:6; 50:1, 8; 51:1, 6; 52:1, 8; 53:1, 6; 54:1, 7; 63:10; 64:4; ktbt 36:4 3 p. masc. pl. ktbw 23:3; 25:6, 7</p> <p>- ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. ktbn' 17:3; 20:4; 21:3; 22:3; ktybn' 13:2; 14:2; 16:5 masc. pl. ktbyn 14:2; 27:6; 28:5; 29:7; 30:11; 31:6; 32:8; 37:7; 38:5; 39:6; 42:6; 44:7; 45:5; 46:6; 47:6</p> <p>- pass. ptc. masc. sg. ktb 23:3; ktyb 1:9; 2:9; 3:9; 4:9; 5:7; 6:9; 7:9; 9:8; 15:5, 6; 18:4, 5; 19:9, 11; 24:7, 9 masc. pl. ktybyn 35:4 fem. pl. ktyb 46:10</p> |
| ל | | |
| ל- | (1) prep. "to, for, at" | <p>1:2, 8, 9; 2:3, 9, 10; 3:2, 9, 10; 4:2, 9, 10; 5:1, 7, 8; 6:9; 7:2, 4, 10; 9:2, 8, 9; 10:4; 11:2, 11; 12:2, 11; 13:2; 14:3, 7; 15:1; 16:3, 4(×3), 7; 17:1, 2, 3, 6; 19:1, 2(×2), 12; 20:1, 2(×2), 4, 8; 21:3, 5, 9, 11; 22:8; 25:2(×2), 6, 12; 26:1, 6; 27:7; 29:1, 7; 31:6; 32:8; 34:1, 12; 36:5; 37:7; 40:4(×2); 42:6; 43:2; 45:5, 6; 47:1, 6; 50:1, 7; 51:1, 6; 52:2, 8; 53:1, 6; 54:1, 6; 55:1, 6(×2), 8, 14; 56:2(×2), 3, 8, 9; 57:6; 58:1(×2), 3(×2); 59:5; 61:4; 63:7; 64:3(×2), 5, 8, 9(×2) ly- 30:12; 38:6; 40:3; 44:7; 46:7 - with pron. suffix 1 p. sg. ly 15:13(×2); 25:5, 6 2 p. masc. sg. lk 49:4; 60:4 2 p. fem. sg. lyky 14:2; 15:9; 19:10; 24:7, 13; 27:6; 28:5; 29:6; 30:11; 31:6; 32:8; 33:5; 37:7; 38:5(×2); 40:3; 42:5; 43:7; 44:7; 45:4; 46:6; 47:6; 50:8(×2); 51:6, 7; 52:8, 9; 53:6, 7; 54:7; 64:5; lky 36:4 3 p. masc. sg. lh 15:1; 21:11(×3); 48:5 (!); 58:3; lyh 8:5; 15:14; 19:12; 25:2, 6; 56:8; 63:5(×2), 6(×4), 7(×2) 3 p. fem. sg. l'h 40:5; lh 1:2, 8, 9; 2:8; 3:2, 9, 10; 4:2, 9, 10; 5:1, 7, 8; 6:9; 7:1, 4, 9, 10; 9:2, 8, 9; 10:4; 11:2, 11; 12:2, 11; 24:10; 29:1; 34:2, 9(×2), 11, 12; 35:6, 10; 37:1; 43:1; 47:1; 50:1, 2; 51:1, 2; 52:1, 2; 53:1(×2); 54:1, 2; 55:1, 9; 64:5, 7, 9 1 p. pl. ln' 15:6; 23:3; 24:7, 8(×2); 25:6, 7; lnh 15:5; 18:4; 19:9, 10, 11 2 p. masc. pl. l'kwn 19:12; lkwn 64:8 2 p. fem. pl. lkyn 15:7(×2), 8(×3), 9; 18:6; 24:9 3 p. masc. pl. lhw' 40:5(×2); lawn 15:10; 17:1, 2, 3; 19:1, 3; 20:1, 4; 21:3; 28:7; 29:8; 40:4; 41:9; 43:9; 47:7; 55:13; 56:2, 4; 57:5(×2); 58:2; 60:12; 62:6; lyhwn 20:3</p> |

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| | (2) with vb.s, marking obj. (ordered by the vb. immediately preceding it) | <p>ʾSR + l- 23:1(×2), 2; 25:3 DMY <i>itpe.</i> + l- 64:3; + 3 p. fem. sg. lh 64:6 ZWʿ <i>af.</i> + l- 57:7 ḤZY + 2 p. fem. sg. lyky 4:14; 6:13; 9:13 YDʿ + 3 p. masc. sg. lh 48:6(×2) YMY <i>af.</i> + 2 p. fem. sg. lyky 9:14; 30:8 KBŠ + l- 25:4; + ly- 25:3 KPT + l- 23:1; 25:3 ʿWQ <i>pa.</i> + 3 p. masc. pl. lhwn 21:7 QBL <i>pa.</i> + l- 46:10 QRY + 2 p. fem. sg. lʿky 11:10; lyky 2:7, 8(×2); 4:8(×3); 7:8(×3); 9:7(×3); 10:8; lky 1:7(×4); 2:7, 8; 3:8(×5); 4:8; 5:6(×3); 6:7; 10:8; 11:10; 12:10(×3); + 3 p. masc. sg. lh 48:4; 49:4 RDP + l- 8:7; 11:12; 12:11; + 3 p. fem. sg. lh 8:7; 11:12; 12:11 RMY <i>af.</i> + 2 p. fem. sg. lyky 9:13, 14(×2) ŠBʿ <i>af.</i> + 2 p. masc. sg. lk 48:6; + 2 p. fem. sg. lyky 50:9; 51:7; 52:9; 53:7; 54:7; lk 48:6; 49:5 ŠDY + 2 p. fem. pl. lkyn 55:7 ŠDR + 2 p. fem. sg. lyky 2:12; 4:13; 9:13 ŠNY <i>af.</i> + ly- 6:14 - see also + 2 p. fem. sg. lyky 2:13; 24:12; 35:11; lky 6:7; 10:8</p> |
| | (3) + inf. | 2:12(×5), 13; 4:13(×7); 6:12; 7:15; 9:13(×7); 13:7(×2); 21:10(×2); 22:8, 9; 26:6(×2); 48:10; 49:8; 55:7(×2), 8; 64:3 |
| | (4) in <i>qeṭil l-</i> forms | <p>- with pron. suffix ŠMʿ + 1 p. pl. lnh 15:7; 19:11; + 3 p. masc. pl. lhwn 15:7; 18:6; 19:12</p> |
| | (5) in a locution | <p>- for the compound prep. lḥwr, see ḥwry. - for the compound prep. mylʿylyh, see yly.</p> |
| לְ | (1) (Heb.) prep. of agent “by” | <p>1:1; 7:3; 9:1; 10:3; 21:13; 22:10; 24:1; 31:1; 32:2; 42:1; 53:1 ly- 2:2; 3:1; 4:1; 5:2; 11:4; 12:4; 19:1; 56:1; 62:7</p> |
| | (2) (Heb.) prep. “to, for” | <p>28:9(×2); 29:10(×2); 31:9, 10; 37:10; 46:10(×2); 47:9(×2) - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. lyk 25:1(×2) 2 p. masc. pl. lkm 9:17 - for the expressions lʾlm and lʾlm wʾd, see wlm.</p> |
| | (3) (Heb.) with vb.s, marking obj. | <p>DKW <i>pa.</i> + l- 9:17 TPH <i>af.</i> + 2 p. masc. pl. lkm 9:16</p> |
| לֹא | negative part. “no, not, nor” | <p>1:9(×2); 2:10(×2); 3:10(×2); 4:10(×2); 5:8(×3); 6:9, 10; 7:10(×2); 9:9(×2); 11:11(×2); 12:11(×2); 14:3; 15:4, 10, 14; 18:3; 19:4, 12, 13; 21:5, 11; 23:3(×2); 24:3, 10; 25:5(×2), 7(×2); 27:7; 28:6, 7; 29:7, 8(×2); 30:12; 31:7; 32:8; 34:2, 9, 11(×3); 36:5; 38:6; 40:4, 5(×3); 41:9; 42:6; 43:7, 9; 45:5(×2); 46:7, 10; 47:6, 7, 10(×2); 48:8; 49:6; 55:6(×3); 56:8; 58:3(×3), 4; 60:12(×2); 62:3, 6; 64:7, 9(×3) l- 40:3 - in the expression lʾ ... wʾl “neither ... nor” 1:9–10; 2:10; 3:11; 4:10; 7:10–11; 9:10; 11:12; 12:11; 15:6, 10, 11(×2); 18:8; 19:9, 13; 21:12; 24:7, 10; 28:7, 8(×2); 29:8, 8–9; 37:8–9, 9(×2); 39:8–9, 9; 40:4(×2); 41:9; 43:9, 10; 45:8; 47:8(×2); 56:9 (wylʾ); 62:6; 64:8(×2) l- ... wʾl- 40:5</p> |
| אֵין | (Heb.) negative part. “no, not” | 9:16, 17(×2); 25:2 |

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| לבש | vb. “put on clothes, dress, wear” | - pass. ptc. pl. with 2 p. masc. pl. enc. pron. lbyštn 19:4 pl. with 2 p. fem. pl. enc. pron. lbyšytyn 15:4; 24:3; lbyštn 62:3 |
| לוט | vb. “curse” | - pass. ptc. “accursed” fem. sg. lytt’ 50:1; 51:1; 52:1; 54:1 (lylytt’!), 6 |
| לוטחא | n. “curse, curse demon” | 45:6, 7(×3); 48:3; 49:2; 50:4(×2), 5; 51:3(×3), 4; 52:4(×2), 5; 53:3(×2), 4(×2), 7; 54:4(×4) lwtt 45:7 ltt’ 45:7 - pl. lwtt’ 46:10 |
| לוש | vb. “knead” | - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tlwšyn 47:10 |
| לחת | vb. “boil” (?); see the note to JBA 40:1 | - ptc. masc. pl. Phtyn 40:1 |
| לטבא | n. “no-good one” (type of demon) | - masc. pl. ltby 14:5; ltby 17:6; 20:8; 21:9; 22:7; 59:3; ltbyn 9:14; 27:6; 31:6; 32:7; 35:2; 42:5 |
| ליבא | n. “heart”; see also טופרסא | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. lybh 3:6; 4:11; 15; 10:6; 11:8, 13; 12:7 |
| לילה | (Heb.) n. “night” | - pl. lylwt 9:16 |
| ליליא (1) | n. “night” | 15:10; 28:7; 37:9; 40:4, 5; 45:8; 47:8; 56:9 lylyh 1:10(×2); 2:10; 3:11; 4:10; 5:8; 6:10; 7:10; 9:10; 11:12; 12:11; 15:11; 16:4; 24:10; 29:8; 41:9; 55:13; 62:6; 64:4, 6, 8 |
| ליליא (2) | n. “lili” (type of demon) | lyly 14:2; 59:3; 62:1; lylyt 19:4 - masc. pl. lylyyn 22:3; lylyn 13:3; 17:3; 20:4; 21:4; 35:1(×2), 2(×2); 58:3; 60:11 |
| | n. fem. “lilith” (type of demon) | lyly 14:2; 24:13; 59:3; 62:1; lylyt 19:4; 24:2; 43:4(×2); lylyt’ 14:6; 15:3, 6; 18:2, 5; 19:3(×2), 6; 23:4; 24:9; 25:1, 2, 11; 27:3(×2); 29:4; 30:8, 9; 31:3(×2); 32:4(×2); 33:2, 3; 34:5(×2); 36:2(×2), 3(×2); 37:4; 38:2(×2); 40:2(×2); 42:3(×2); 44:2; 45:2(×2); 46:2, 3(×2); 47:3(×2), 10; 49:5; 50:1, 6, 9; 51:1, 2, 5, 7; 52:1, 7, 9; 53:5, 7; 54:1 (lytt’!), 6, 7; 55:2, 5; 56:4; 57:3; 59:1; 61:2; 62:1, 2, 4; 63:3; 64:4 - cstr. lylyt 15:3 - fem. pl. lylyt’ 40:2, 3; lylyt’ 14:5; 16:3, 8; 23:4; 24:2; 25:4, 8; 28:5; 29:3, 6; 30:8, 11; 31:2; 32:3; 33:5; 34:4, 8; 36:1; 37:3, 4, 7; 38:2; 39:2; 42:2; 43:3, 7; 44:2, 6; 45:1; 46:2; 47:3, 6; 48:2; 55:8; 59:3; 60:11; 64:1, 9 |
| לית | part. “there is/are not” (לא + אית) | 55:8 |
| לפני | (Heb.) prep. “before, in the presence of” | - with pron. suffix 1 p. sg. lpny 9:16 |
| לקבל | prep. “opposite” | - for the expression QWM + lqbl -, see QWM. |
| לקט | vb. “seize” (cf. נקט) | - pass. ptc. masc. sg. lqyt 26:6 |

מ

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|-------------|---|--|
| מאה | num. "hundred" | - du. m'tn 11:9, 13; mtn 4:15; 9:15, 18; 12:8, 13 |
| מאן מן | pron. "who?" | - as rel. pron. "the one who" mn dy- 57:6; 59:5; 61:4; 63:7 |
| מבכלתא | n. " <i>mevakkalta</i> demon" | 25:11; 45:8; 48:3; 49:2 - fem. pl. mbklt' 25:4, 8 |
| מדורתא | n. "dwelling" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. mdwrtyh 48:8 |
| מדרא | n. "dwelling" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. mdryh 21:10; 22:9 |
| מוחא | n. "skull" | 2:12; 4:13; 6:13; 9:13; 11:18; 12:18 - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. mwhh 2:6 |
| מומי ממי | n. "oath, oath demon" | mmy 53:3 |
| מומתא | n. "oath, adjuration" | 60:9 - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. mwm't'ky 40:4; mwmtky 27:7; 30:12; 31:7; 32:9; 33:6; 34:10; 37:8; 41:7; 42:6; 43:8; 47:7; 60:10; mwmty (!) 58:5; mwmtky 44:8; 46:7 - pl. mwm't' 46:10; 55:11 |
| מוקרא | n. "brain" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. mwqrh 2:6 |
| מורניתא | n. "lance" | 27:5; 31:5; 32:7; 34:7; 42:5; 43:6 mwr'nyt' 40:2 mwrwnyt' 38:4 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. mwr'nytyh 47:5; mwrnytyh 29:6; 30:10; 36:4; 37:6; 39:5; 44:5; mrwnytyh 46:5 |
| מותבא | n. "sitting, court session" | - cstr. mwtb 13:2; 14:1; 21:2; 22:2; mwtwb 17:3; 20:4 |
| מזונא | n. "food"; pl. "livelihood" | - pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. mzwnyh 21:11 3 p. masc. pl. mzwnyhwn 21:7 |
| מזיקא | n. "tormentor" (type of demon) | - abs. mzyq 34:3 - masc. pl. mzyqyn 1:3; 2:5; 4:4; 21:5; 57:3; 60:11; 61:3; 63:4; myqy 23:2 |
| מזלא | n. "(sign of the) zodiac, constellation, fortune" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. mz'lh 35:7 - pl. - cstr. mzly 23:1 |

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| מחגרתא | n. "lame" (epithet of demons) | 1:7; 2:7; 3:8; 4:8; 5:6; 7:8; 9:7; 10:8 (see also Morgenstern's of linguistic features in this volume) |
| מחי | vb. "strike, smite" | - inf. lmymh̄y 64:3 - ptc. fem. sg. mhy' 27:4; 29:5; 30:9; 31:4; 32:6; 36:2; 37:6; 39:4; 41:5; 42:4; 43:5; 46:5; 47:4 fem. sg. cstr. m'ht 4:5; 7:5; mht 1:4; 2:5; 3:5; 5:3; 9:4; 10:5 <i>itpa.</i> "be struck" - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. (see the introduction to I.2.2) 'ytmh̄n (!) 27:5; 31:5; 32:6; 42:4; tydmh̄y 40:2; tymh̄yn 30:10; 46:5; tymh̄yny 28:4; 29:5; 33:4; 37:6; 41:6; 43:6; 47:5; tymh̄n 34:7; 35:11; tmh̄yn 38:3; 45:3 2 p. masc. pl. tytmh̄wn 64:7 |
| מחמת מיחמת | (+ -ד) conj. "because" | myh̄mt d- 25:7 |
| מחתנא | n. "descent" (?) | - pl. cstr. mhtny 15:14 |
| מטריתא | n. "smiter" (epithet of demons) | 1:7; 2:7; 3:7; 4:8; 5:6; 7:8; 9:7; 10:7 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| מידעם | pron. "thing, something" | 28:10; 50:2; 53:2; 54:2 |
| מיחמת | See מחמת. | |
| מילתא | n. "word" | - pl. myly 44:9 |
| מינא | n. "species, category, type" | - in the expression kmyn/kymyn "like" 11:16; 12:16 - pl. myny 64:3 - cstr. myny 64:1 |
| מיפקא | n. "exiting, exit" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. myphq (!) 45:6 |
| מיצרא | n. "border" | - pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. mysryh 57:6 |
| מיתוד | See תוד. | |
| מלאכא | n. "angel" | ml'kh 9:18(×2); 25:11; 48:10; 50:10(×4); 51:7, 8(×3); 52:10(×3); 53:8(×4); 54:8(×4); 58:4 - cstr. ml'k 55:10 - pl. ml'ky 48:8, 9; 49:7, 8; ml'kyh 35:4 - cstr. ml'ky 15:13; 35:6 |

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| מלויתא | n. "companion demon" | 16:3 |
| מלך | (Heb.) n. "king" | 11:4(×3); 12:4; 48:5; 49:4 |
| מלכא | n. "king" | 26:3, 4; 47:11; 48:1; 49:5; 56:8 mlkh 40:1; 46:9 - abs. mlk 55:10 - cstr. mlk 1:4; 2:5; 3:4; 4:4; 5:2; 6:4; 7:5; 9:3; 10:4 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. mlkhwn 27:2; 31:2; 32:2; 33:1; 35:9; 36:1; 39:1; 42:2; 43:3; 45:1; 46:1; 47:2; mlkyhwn 30:8; 34:4; 40:1 - pl. mlky' 9:3; mlkyh 1:4; 2:5; 3:5; 4:5; 5:2; 6:4; 10:5; mlkyyh 7:5 - pl. cstr. mlky 1:4; 2:5; 3:5; 4:4; 10:5 |
| מלכותא | (Heb.) n. "kingdom, government" | - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. sg. mlkwtk 28:9; 29:10; 31:10; 37:10; 47:9; mlktk 46:10 |
| מלכותא | n. "kingdom, government" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. mlkwyh 50:11; 51:9; 52:12; 53:9; 54:9 |
| מללתא | n. "(magic) word"; perhaps in reference to a type of demon, "incantation demon"; see <i>DJBA</i> , 682. | 50:4; 51:3; 52:4; 53:3; 54:4 |
| ממון | (Heb.) n. "wealth" | mwmwk (!) 9:17 |
| ממי | See מומי. | |
| מן | See מאן. | |

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| מן | (1) prep. "from, by" | 1:2, 3(×2); 2:4(×2), 5, 13; 3:2, 3(×2), 4(×3); 4:3(×2), 4, 14(×2), 15(×7); 5:1; 6:1, 3, 15; 7:1, 2, 4, 5(×2); 9:2, 15(×3), 16(×2), 18(×3); 10:1, 3; 11:1, 17; 12:1, 17; 13:6, 7; 14:3, 4, 6(×4), 7(×2); 15:1, 5, 6, 7(×2), 9(×3), 10(×6), 12; 16:7, 9; 17:6, 7, 8; 18:4, 5, 6, 8, 9; 19:6(×3), 7, 9, 11(×2), 12; 20:5(!), 8(×2), 9(×2); 21:9, 10(×2), 11(×2), 12; 22:8, 9(×2), 10; 23:3, 5; 24:4(×2), 5, 7, 8, 9, 10(×2), 13; 25:6, 7, 8(×2); 26:1, 5, 6; 27:1, 8(×4); 28:6, 7, 10; 29:7(×2), 8(×2); 30:1, 11, 12; 31:1, 7(×3), 8; 32:1, 9, 10; 33:6; 34:8(×2), 9, 10(×2); 35:3(×2), 6, 7(×2); 36:5; 37:1, 2, 3(×2), 8(×3); 38:4, 6; 41:8(×2); 42:1, 7(×4); 43:1, 8, 9(×3); 44:8, 9(×2), 10; 45:4, 5, 6(×5), 7(×6), 8(×8); 46:7(×2), 8; 47:1, 7(×3), 10(×4); 48:7, 8; 50:2(×2), 3(×4), 4(×3), 5(×5), 6(×2), 8; 51:2(×4), 3(×5), 4(×6), 5(×2), 6(×3); 52:2, 3(×3), 4(×3), 5(×5), 6(×3), 7, 9; 53:2(×6), 3(×7), 4(×8), 5(×2), 6(×2); 54:2(×4), 3(×3), 4(×6), 5(×6), 7; 55:1, 7, 9, 12(×7); 56:5, 7; 57:4, 5(×3); 58:1, 5; 59:7(×2); 60:11(×2); 61:3(×2), 4(×2); 62:4(×2), 5(×2); 63:4, 5(×4), 6(×5), 7; 64:2, 9 m- 48:7; 49:5; 63:5 my- 23:2; 25:5; 35:3; 56:4; 63:10 myn 40:4(×3), 6 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. mynyh 15:13 3 p. fem. sg. mynh 6:15; 9:15; 11:18; 12:18; 24:10, 13; 45:3, 6; 55:7, 8 3 p. masc. pl. mynhwn 17:7; 20:9; 21:12; 22:9; mynyhwn 55:13(×2); mnhwn 17:7 - see also the compound prep. my'ym. - see also the compound prep. mn qdm d-. - see also the compound prep. yly mn. |
| | (2) prep. partitive use, "some of" | 26:6(×3); 55:7(×2) |
| מן | (Heb.) prep. "from" | m- 9:17; 27:9; 31:9; 32:11; 42:8 my- 28:9; 29:9; 30:14; 37:10; 40:6; 46:9; 47:9 - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. pl. mykm 9:17(×4) |
| מנחשא | n. "diviner" | 44:10 |
| מסאב | adj. "ritually unclean" | 64:2 |
| מסי | vb. "flow, melt (away)" | itpe. "be melted, melt away" - pf. 3 p. fem. pl. 'yytmsy'yh 17:6; 20:7; 'ytmsy' 14:5; 'ytmsy'h 13:6; 21:9; 22:7 |
| מסמיתא | n. "blinder" (epithet of demons) | 1:7; 2:7, 8; 3:7; 4:8; 5:5; 6:7; 9:7; 10:7 msmtt' 11:10; 12:10 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| מסר | vb. "lower" | itpe. "be lowered" - impf. 3 p. masc. pl. ytmsrwn 16:7 |
| מעבדא | n. "magical act, sorcery" | - pl. m'bdy 50:6; 51:5; 52:7; 53:5; 54:5 |
| מעייא | n. "intestines, bowels" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. m'h 3:6; 9:10; 10:6 |
| מעלא | n. "entering, entrance" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. m'lh 45:6 |

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| מצרים | (Heb.) n. "Egypt" | 35:4 |
| מקום | (Heb.) n. "place" | 25:3 |
| מרד | vb. "rebel" | - ptc. masc. pl. mrdyn 64:1 |
| מרומא | n. "height, upper world" | 13:6; 14:7; 21:9; 22:8; 57:7; 63:8 myrwm' 16:7 mrmh 61:5 - pl. mrwmy 59:6; mrwmyh 17:6; 20:8 |
| מריא | n. "master, lord" | - cstr. m'ry 15:14; mry 18:9 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. mryhwn 64:2 |
| מרכבתא | n. "chariot" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. mrkbyh 2:13; 4:14; 6:15; 9:15 |
| משמתא | n. "ban demon" | 16:3 |
| משפופתי | n. "crawler, cripple" (epithet of demons; see also שפופתי) | 7:8 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| משרת | (Heb.) n. "minister" | - pl. cstr. mšrty 9:17 |
| מתן | See מאה. | |
| נ | | |
| נאלא | n. "complaint spirit" (type of demon) | - masc. pl. n'lyn 9:14 |
| נגד | (Heb.) prep. "in front of" | - in the expression kngd "before" 9:17 |
| נגע | vb. "touch" | - impf. 3 p. masc. sg. yg' 34:2 |
| נהורא | n. "light, eyesight" | 11:18; 12:18 |
| נולא | n. "tormentor" (type of demon) | 45:8 |
| נוקבתא ניקבתא | n. "female" (often as adj.) | 19:4 nyqbt' 14:2; 25:2; 59:3; 64:8 - abs. nyqb' 24:2; 25:5; nyqbh 50:9; 51:7; 52:10; 53:8; 54:8; 62:1 - pl. nwqbn 21:5; nyqbt' 16:3; 25:8; 44:6; 64:9 |
| נורא | n. "fire" | 11:15, 17; 12:14, 17; 64:1, 6 abs. nwr 15:12; 59:6 |

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| נוח/נזה | vb. “depart, move” | - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tyzhyn 2:13; 4:14; 6:15; 9:15, 18 - impv. masc. sg. zh 48:5(×2); 49:4(×2) fem. pl. zh 55:12 <i>itpe.</i> “be removed” - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tynzhyhyn 2:13; 4:14; 9:15 <i>af.</i> “cause to depart” - impv. masc. pl. ’zħw 11:18; 12:18 |
| נזק | vb. “harm” | <i>af.</i> “harm” - impf. 2 p. masc. pl. with 3 p. masc. sg. pron. suffix tzqwnh 58:4 - ptc. fem. sg. mnzq’ 23:4; 25:6 |
| נחירא | n. “nostril” | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. nhyrh 9:5, 10 |
| נחשא | n. “copper, bronze” | - abs. nhš 18:10 |
| נחת | vb. “descend” | - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. nhyt 15:6; 18:5; 19:9; nh̄t 24:6 - impv. masc. pl. nhytw 12:17 |
| נטר | vb. “protect” | <i>itpe.</i> “be protected” - impf. 3 p. fem. sg. ytn̄r (!) 1:3; tynt̄r 2:4; tynt̄ry (!) 50:2; 51:2; 52:2; 53:2 |
| נידרא | n. “vow”; also, a type of demon, “vow demon” | 45:8; 50:5; 51:4; 52:5; 53:4; 54:5 |
| ניכדא | See נכדא. | |
| נינא | n. “child, offspring” (Hebraism); see the note to JBA 15:10 | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. nynh 15:10 (in the hendiadys nynh wnykdh) (see also Morgenstern’s discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| ניקבתא | See נוקבתא. | |
| נכדא ניכדא | n. “grandchild, offspring” (Hebraism); see the note to JBA 15:10 | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. nykdh 15:10 (in the hendiadys nynh wnykdh) |
| נכס | vb. “slaughter” | - impf. 2 p. masc. sg. tykws 48:2; 49:2 <i>pa.</i> “slaughter” - inf. lnks’ 48:10; lnksy 49:8 |

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| נסב | vb. “take” | - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tysbyn 14:3; 24:13 2 p. masc. pl. tysbwn 61:3; 63:4; tsbwn 57:4 - impv. fem. sg. sb 62:4 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. nsybn’ 55:7 masc. pl. nsbyn 64:8 |
| נפק | vb. “go out, depart, proceed” | - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. npq 35:4 - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. typqy 45:6; typqyn 6:15; 9:15 2 p. masc. pl. typqwn 48:8; 49:7; 55:6; 57:6; 59:6 - impv. masc. sg. pwq 48:5(×2), 7; 49:4 fem. sg. pwqy 15:9; 18:8; 24:4, 10; 27:7; 29:7; 30:12; 31:7; 32:9; 33:6; 37:8; 40:4; 42:7; 43:8; 45:5; 46:7; 47:7; 58:5; 62:4; pqy 45:3 masc. pl. pwqwqw 19:6, 12(×2); pwqw 57:4 - ptc. fem. sg. with 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. npqt 18:9 masc. pl. npqyn 11:17; 12:17 pl. with 2 p. masc. pl. encl. pron. npqytwn 59:7 <i>af</i> : “cause to go forth” - impf. 3 p. masc. sg. ynpyq 17:6; 20:8 - impv. masc. pl. pyqw 11:18; 12:18 - inf. l’wqy (!) 16:8; l’pwqy 13:7; l’pq 14:7; 21:10; 22:9; l’pq’ 14:7 |
| נפש | n. “soul, self” | - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. npšyky 50:7; 51:6; 52:8; 53:6; 54:6; npšky 55:6 |
| נצח | vb. “be victorious” | - ptc. masc. pl. nšhyn 25:9 (see also Morgenstern’s of linguistic features in this volume) |
| נקוב | (Heb.) n. “hollow”; see the introduction to I.2.1 | 14:4; 17:5; 20:6; 21:8; 22:6 - pl. nqby 16:6(×2) |
| נקט | vb. “hold, seize” (cf. לקט) | - pf. 1 p. sg. with 3 p. masc. pl. pron. suffix nqṭṭynwn 23:1 |
| נקשא | n. “clapping” | - masc. pl. nqyšy’ 6:13; 9:13 (see also Morgenstern’s discussion of linguistic features in this volume, who proposes to amend the reading to nqwšy’) |
| נשי | See איתתא. | |
| נשא | (Heb.) vb. “lift” | <i>ni</i> . “be lifted, lofty” - ptc. masc. sg. nyš’ 9:16 |

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| סבא | n. "old person" | - fem. pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. sbthwn 25:5 |
| סבר | vb. "think" | <i>pa.</i> "understand, comprehend" - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. msbrn' 48:6, 7 masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. + b- as object marker + 3 p. fem. sg. pron. suffix msbrnbh 49:5, 6 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| סדם | (Heb.) n. "Sodom" | sdwm 49:8 |
| סוד | (Heb.) n. "secret, mystery" | - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. sg. swdk 9:16 |
| סוסיתא | See צוציתא. | |
| סוף | (Heb.) n. "reed" | - in the name ymh dswp "Red Sea" 4:14; 6:15; 9:15 |
| סור | vb. "go around" | - ptc. masc. pl. syryn 64:3 |
| סטי | vb. "deviate, go astray" | - ptc. masc. pl. sṭn 64:1 |
| סטנא | n. "satan" | 11:17; 12:17; 25:10; 50:3; 51:2; 53:2; 54:2 sṭnh 52:3 - pl. sṭny 13:6; 14:5; 17:6; 20:8; 59:2; sṭnyn 13:3; 17:3; 20:4; 21:4; 22:3 |
| סידרא | n. "order, arrangement" | - cstr. sdwr 27:9; 31:9; 32:11; 42:8; sydwr 30:13 |
| סיהרא | n. "moon" | 2:13; 4:14; 9:14; 15:14 |
| סיטרא | n. "side" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. syṭrh 64:5 |
| סיפרא | n. "document" | 35:4 - cstr. sypr 14:3, 7; 60:10; spr 13:8 (ssty!); 17:7; 20:9; 21:12; 22:9; 62:5 |
| סבר | vb. "block up, shut away" | - impv. fem. sg. with 2 p. fem. sg. pron. suffix skwryky 47:10 |
| סלה | (Heb.) "Selah" | 3:14; 5:10; 6:16(×2); 7:3; 8:9; 9:18; 11:16, 18; 12:15, 19; 13:8; 16:9; 20:9; 21:13; 22:10; 23:6; 25:10, 11; 27:10(×2); 28:9, 10; 29:10; 30:7; 31:9, 10; 37:10; 40:6; 42:8, 9; 43:11; 44:11; 45:6, 8; 50:12; 51:9, 10; 52:13; 53:10; 54:10; 55:11, 14; 56:11; 57:8; 58:2, 4, 6; 60:12; 61:7; 62:7; 64:10 s 30:6 sl' 38:7; 63:10 |
| סלף | vb. "whip"; see the note to JBA 64:2 | - ptc. masc. pl. slpyn 64:2 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |

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| סלק | vb. "ascend" | - pf. 1 p. sg. slyqyt 13:6; 14:6; 16:7; 17:6; 20:8; 21:9; 22:8 - inf. lmysq 55:8 |
| סמי | See מסמיתא . | |
| סערא | See שערא . | |
| סרא | See שרא . | |
| סתם | vb. "stop up, close up" | - ptc. masc. sg. stym 25:10 |
| סתר | vb. "unravel, dishevel" | - pass. ptc. masc. sg. styr 15:4; 19:5; 62:3; str 24:3 |
| ע | | |
| עבד | vb. "do, make, perform" | - impf. 3 p. masc. sg. n'byd 15:13 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. ' bdn ' 13:1; 16:2; 17:2; 20:3; 21:2; 22:2; ' bydn ' 14:1 |
| עבד | (Heb.) vb. "serve, work" | <i>shaf</i> . "subject, enslave" - pass. ptc. fem. pl. mšbdwt 25:1 |
| עבר אבר | vb. "transgress, pass (away)" | - pf. 3 p. masc. pl. ' brw 16:7 - ptc. masc. sg. ' br 44:9 masc. pl. ' bryn 64:1 |
| עגלא | n. "haste" | - for the expression b'gl' , see b- . |
| עד | prep. "until, to" | 23:2; 25:5(×2) |
| עד | (Heb.) n. "eternity" | - for the expression l'lm w'd , see ' lm '. |
| עדי | vb. "pass (over), go away" | - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. t'dyn 6:15; 9:15 |
| עובדא | (1) n. "(magical) act" | 14:1; 17:2; 20:3; 21:1; 22:1 ' wbdh 13:1 - pl. ' bdy 16:1; ' wbdyn 50:5; 51:4; 52:6; 53:4; 54:5 |
| | (2) n. "court case"; "legal decision or document" | 21:13 |
| עוירתא | n. "sightless" (epithet of demons) | 1:7; 2:7; 3:7; 4:8; 5:6; 7:8; 9:7; 10:8; 11:10; 12:10 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| עולימא | n. "young man, young one" | - pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. ' wlymyhwn 25:5 |

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| עולם | (Heb.) n. "world, eternity" | - in the expression l'wlmy 'wlmym "for ever and ever" 25:11 - in the expression l'lm w'd "for ever and ever" 2:14 |
| עומקא | n. "depth" | - pl. cstr. 'wmqy 55:8 |
| עוק | vb. "cause trouble, distress" | pa. or af. "distress" - ptc. masc. pl. m'yqyn 21:7 |
| עור | See עירא. | |
| עורבא | n. "raven" | 'rb' 56:6 |
| עות | vb. "distort" | pa. "distort" - ptc. masc. sg. m'wyt 11:18; 12:18 |
| עוז | adj. "strong" | - fem. sg. 'zyzt' 50:6; 51:4; 52:6; 53:5; 54:5 |
| עטר | vb. "go away"; see the note to JBA 30:12 | - impv. fem. sg. 'twry 30:12 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| עיברא | n. "side, bank" | - cstr. in the expressions mn '(y)br ym'/h "from across the sea" 15:5; 18:4; 19:11; 23:3; 24:8; 25:6, 7 mn 'ybr šmy' "from across heaven" 24:7 |
| עזקתא | n. "signet-ring" | 26:1, 5; 27:9; 31:9; 32:11; 34:12; 42:8 'zyqt' 64:6 - cstr. 'zyqt 25:11 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. 'yzqtyh 24:11(×2); 30:13; 40:5; 46:9(×2) |
| עילא | See עירא. | |
| עילאה | adj. "upper" | - fem. sg. 'lyt' 50:4; 51:3; 52:4; 53:3; 54:3 |
| עילאי | adv. "above" | - in the compound adv. l'ylh "above" 55:11 - in the compound prep. myl'ylyh "from above" 63:10 - in the compound prep. 'yl'y mn "above" 59:6 |
| עים | See עם. | |
| עין | (Heb.) n. "eye" | - in the expression 'yn r'h "evil eye" 1:7; 3:7; 4:7; 5:5; 6:7; 7:8; 9:6; 10:7 |
| עינא | n. "eye" | 2:7 - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. 'ynh 6:10; 8:7; 9:10; 11:8, 13; 12:7, 12 - pl. 'yny 7:15; 'ynyn 4:13; 6:13; 9:13 - in the expression 'yn' byšt' 8:4; 11:10; 12:9 - for the expression byt gylglyhy d'ynh, see byt'. |
| עירא עילא | n. "wakefulness" | masc. pl. with 3 p. masc. pl. pron. suffix 'lyhwn 15:11; 29:8; 37:9; 47:8; 'yryhwn 18:8 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |

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| עכב | vb. "detain" | <i>itpa.</i> "tarry" - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. <i>tyt'kbyn</i> 60:12 |
| על | (1) prep. "upon, on, over, with" | 1:4; 2:5, 12, 13; 3:5; 4:5, 13(×2), 14; 5:3; 6:12, 13, 15; 7:5; 9:3, 13(×2), 15; 10:5; 11:6, 17; 12:5, 16; 15:14(×2); 21:13; 27:3, 6(×3), 9 (!); 28:3; 29:4, 5, 6(×2); 30:9, 11(×3); 31:3, 6(×3), 9 (!); 32:5, 7(×3), 11 (!); 33:3, 5; 34:7(×2), 8; 36:2, 4; 37:5, 7(×4); 38:3; 39:3, 4, 6(×3); 40:2, 3(×3); 41:5, 6; 42:3, 5(×3), 8 (!); 43:4, 5(×2), 6, 7(×3); 44:3(×2); 45:2; 46:4; 47:4(×2), 6(×3); 63:8 - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. <i>'lk</i> 46:10 3 p. masc. sg. <i>'lwhy</i> 28:8; 29:9; 37:10; 41:9; 47:9 3 p. fem. sg. <i>'lh</i> 40:6; 46:9; <i>'lhy</i> 34:13; <i>'lyh</i> 30:13 3 p. masc. pl. <i>'lyhw</i> 60:12 |
| | (2) prep. "against" | 44:10; 48:10; 49:8(×3); 64:2 - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. sg. <i>'lk</i> 48:5; 49:4 2 p. fem. sg. <i>'lyky</i> 12:14; 25:3; 55:13; 64:4; <i>'lk</i> 56:8; <i>'lky</i> 11:15; 18:10; 19:8, 10; 26:2 3 p. masc. sg. <i>'lhy</i> 63:3; <i>'lwhy</i> 57:2; 61:2 3 p. fem. sg. <i>'lh</i> 25:7 2 p. masc. pl. <i>'lykwn</i> 13:7; 14:6, 7; 16:7; 17:6(×2); 19:7; 20:8(×2); 21:9, 10; 22:8(×2); 48:8, 9(×2), 10; 49:7(×2), 8; 64:7 2 p. fem. pl. <i>'lykyn</i> 15:8(×2); 16:5; 24:5(×2), 8; 55:12 3 p. masc. pl. <i>'lyhwn</i> 1:11; 2:11; 3:12; 4:12; 5:9; 6:11; 7:12; 9:11 |
| | (3) prep. "unto" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. pl. <i>'Phyn</i> 64:9; <i>'lyhyn</i> 14:3; 27:7; 30:12; 31:7; 32:9; 34:9; 40:3; 42:6; 44:7 |
| | (4) prep. "concerning, about" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. <i>'lh</i> 25:7 2 p. masc. pl. <i>'lykwn</i> 19:6, 7 2 p. fem. pl. <i>'lykyn</i> 15:7; 24:4, 5; 62:3 |
| | (5) with vb.s, marking obj. (ordered by the vb. immediately preceding it) | <i>YMY af.</i> + 2 p. fem. sg. <i>'lky</i> 1:8; 2:13; 4:12, 14; 6:8, 12, 14(×2); 9:7, 12; 36:3; + 2 p. masc. pl. <i>'lykwn</i> 19:8; + 2 p. fem. pl. <i>'lykyn</i> 24:6; + 2 p. masc. sg. <i>'lk</i> 49:1 <i>ŠB' af.</i> + 2 p. masc. sg. <i>'lk</i> 48:1; 49:1; + 2 p. fem. sg. <i>'lyky</i> 25:1, 2; 30:10; 34:4, 6; 47:3; 55:2; 60:8, 10; 63:3; <i>'lky</i> 1:9; 2:8, 9; 3:8, 10; 4:8, 10, 14; 5:6, 8; 6:8; 7:8, 10; 8:4, 6; 9:7, 9, 14, 18; 10:8; 11:11; 12:10; 18:9; 24:12; 27:3, 5; 29:3, 5; 31:2, 5; 32:3, 6; 33:4; 37:4, 6; 38:2; 39:2; 40:2; 42:2, 4; 43:4, 6; 45:2; 46:3, 5; 47:5; 57:3; 61:2; 62:1; + 2 p. masc. pl. <i>'lykwn</i> 59:2, 5; + 2 p. fem. pl. <i>'lykyn</i> 64:1, 4 - see also + 2 p. fem. sg. <i>'lky</i> 33:2 |
| על | (Heb.) prep. "upon" | 9:16 |
| עלה | vb. "go up" (Hebraism) | - inf. <i>lm'ly</i> 2:12; 4:13; 6:13 |
| עלמא | n. "world, eternity" | 1:4; 4:4; 14:6; 16:7; 21:9; 22:8; 23:2; 27:9; 30:13; 32:11; 34:3; 42:8; 55:11(×2), 13; 57:6; 63:7 <i>'lmh</i> 2:5; 13:6; 14:6; 17:6; 20:8; 28:10; 31:9; 56:4; 59:5; 61:4 - in the expression <i>l'lm</i> "for ever" 7:3, 5; 9:16; 17:8; 20:9; 21:12; 22:10; 38:6; 44:11; 45:5, 6, 8; 46:8; 55:13; 64:9; <i>ly'lm</i> 60:12; <i>l'lm</i> 40:6 - in the expression <i>l'lm l'myn</i> "for ever and ever" 55:14 |

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| עם עים | prep. "with" | 'ym 64:4, 5(×2) - in the compound prep. my'ym "from with, from" 56:10 |
| עמרה | (Heb.) n. "Gomorrah" | 'mwr' 49:8 |
| ענא | n. "small cattle, flock" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. 'nyh 55:6 |
| עננא | n. "cloud" | - pl. cstr. 'nny 15:13 |
| עקר | vb. "uproot, annul; be annulled" | - impv. fem. sg. 'yqwry 28:6; 29:7; 33:6; 37:8; 43:8; 47:7; 'yqry 40:4; 'qwry 46:7 itpe. "be uprooted, annulled" - pf. 3 p. masc. pl. 'yyt'qrw 17:5; 'yyt'qrww 20:7; 'yt'qrw 14:5; 21:9; 22:7; 'yt'rqw (!) 13:5 - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tytyqryn 9:15 3 p. masc. pl. yt'qrwn 16:7 |
| ערא ארא | n. "bay tree" | 'r' 44:10 |
| ערבא | See עורבא. | |
| ערויחא | n. "shivering" | 8:4 |
| ערטיל | adv. "naked" | 15:4; 18:3; 24:3; 62:2 - pl. 'rtily 19:4 |
| ערק | vb. "flee, take flight" | - impv. fem. sg. 'yrqy 40:4; 'rwqy 30:12; 36:5; 58:5; 'rqy 27:7; 31:7; 32:9; 42:7 |
| עשה | (Heb.) vb. "do, act, make" | - pf. 1 p. sg. 'syty 21:13; 22:11 - ptc. masc. sg. 'wsh 1:1; 2:3; 3:1; 4:1; 5:2; 6:2; 7:3; 9:1, 16; 10:3; 11:4; 12:4; 17:1; 19:1; 20:1; 24:1; 31:1; 32:2; 53:1; 56:1; 59:1 |
| עשרא | num. "ten" | - used in expressions for num. between eleven and nineteen: "twelve" trty 'ysry 15:11; trty 'sry 15:11 |
| פ | | |
| פאר | (Heb.) vb. "glorify" | pu. "be glorified" - ptc. masc. sg. mpw'r 9:16 |
| פגן | vb. "wound"; see the note to JBA 64:2 | pa. "wound" - ptc. masc. pl. mpgnyn 64:2 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| פגע | vb. "meet" | - pf. 3 p. fem. sg. pg' 1:8(×2); 2:8, 9; 3:9(×2); 4:9(×2); 5:6, 7; 6:8(×2); 7:9(×2); 9:8(×2); 10:8, 9; pg° 8:5 |

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| פגעא | n. "affliction demon" | pg'h 50:2; 51:2; 52:3; 53:2; 54:2 - masc. pl. pg'y 14:5; 59:2; pg'yn 9:14; 21:4 |
| פגרא | n. "body" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. pgryh 19:6; 27:8; 31:8; 42:7 3 p. fem. sg. pgrh 1:5, 10; 2:6, 10; 3:6, 11; 4:6, 11; 5:4; 6:10; 7:6, 11; 9:5, 10; 10:6; 24:5; 34:2; pgryh 5:9 |
| פדנא | n. "pair (of oxen)" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. pdnyh 55:6 |
| פוכתא | n. "bridle" | - pl. pwktt' 64:3 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| פומא | n. "mouth" | - cstr. pwm 25:10 - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. pwmh 25:2(×2) |
| פורה | n. "lot" (i.e. that which is cast in a game of chance or to reach a decision) | 13:1; 14:1; 16:1; 17:2; 21:1; 22:1 pwwr' 20:3 |
| פטר | vb. "exempt, release" | - pf. 1 p. sg. pt'ryt 40:3; pt'ryt 27:6; 28:5; 29:6; 31:6; 32:8; 33:5; 36:4; 37:7; 39:6; 42:5; 43:7; 46:6; 47:6 - impf. 3 p. masc. pl. ypt'rw 35:6 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. pt'r (!) 14:7; pt'rn' 13:7; 17:7; 20:9; 21:12; 22:9 fem. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. pt'rn' 56:5 - inf. mypt'r 56:6 <i>itpe.</i> "be released" - impf. 2 p. masc. pl. tytp't'rw 55:8, 13 |
| פיטורין | n. "(writs of) release, divorce" | 13:8; 14:2; 16:5; 17:4; 20:6; 21:7, 12; 22:4; 50:8; 51:6; 52:8; 53:6; 54:7; 60:10 - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. pytwryky 19:10; 24:7; pytwrky 24:13; 62:5 2 p. masc. pl. pytwrykwn 19:10; 64:8 2 p. fem. pl. pytwrykyn 15:9; 18:7; 24:8; 62:5 |
| פיטירא | n. "enemy" (type of demon); see the note to JBA 21:5 | - pl. pytyryn 21:5 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| פירא | n. "fruit" | pyr'h 40:5 |
| פיתחא | n. "doorway" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. pythyh 29:8 3 p. fem. sg. pyth (!) 37:5; pythh 15:9, 10; 29:5; 33:3; 37:8; 39:4; 41:5, 8; 43:5, 9(×2); 47:4, 7 |

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| פכר | vb. "clasp, join" | <i>pa.</i> "bind" - inf. cstr. with 2 p. fem. pl. pron. suffix lpkrykyn 55:7 |
| פנים | (Heb.) n. "face, countenance" | 55:10; 57:7 |
| פעע | vb. "crush" | - inf. lmyṗ' 2:12; 4:13; 9:13 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| פקא | See פקע. | |
| פקד | vb. "command" | <i>pa.</i> "command, appoint" - pass. ptc. masc. pl. mpqdyn 1:4; 2:5; 3:5; 4:5; 5:3; 7:5; 9:3; 10:5; 11:5; 12:5 |
| פקע פקא | vb. "split, burst" | - impf. 3 p. masc. sg. nypq' 44:10 |
| פרח | vb. "fly" | - ptc. masc. pl. prhyn 64:2 pl. with 2. p. fem. pl. encl. pron. prh̄ytyn 64:5 |
| פרצופא | n. "face, countenance" | - masc. pl. pršwṗyn 2:13; 4:13; 6:13; 9:13 |
| פרש | vb. "depart; specify" | - pass. ptc. masc. pl. pryšn 55:11 <i>pa.</i> "express clearly, specify" - pf. 3 p. masc. pl. pryšw 25:5, 6(×2) - pass. ptc. "specified" masc. sg. mpryš (for mprš) 23:3 - pass. ptc. "ineffable" masc. sg. mprš 27:9; 32:11; 42:8; mprš' 31:9 |
| פרש | (Heb.) "depart" | <i>pi.</i> "depart, specify" - pass. ptc. "ineffable" masc. sg. mpwrwš 40:6; mpwrš 28:9; 29:9; 30:13; 34:13; 37:10; 46:9; 47:9 |
| פשט | (Heb.) vb. "stretch, straighten" | - pass. ptc. "straight" fem. sg. pšwt' 25:1, 2 |
| פתכרא | n. "idol spirit" (type of demon) | - masc. pl. ptkry 13:6; 23:5; 25:4, 8; 45:8; 50:3; 51:2; 52:3; 53:2; 54:2; ptkryn 9:14 - fem. pl. ptkrt' 50:3; 51:2; 52:3; 53:2; 54:3 |
| צ | | |
| צבי | vb. "want, desire, wish" | - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tšbyn 50:8; 51:6; 52:8; 53:6; 54:6 |
| צדי | adj. "desolate" | 55:6 |
| צוציתא סוסייתא | n. "curled (tufts of) hair" | - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. šwsytky 18:9 3 p. masc. sg. swsytyh 26:6 |

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| צור | vb. “draw, depict” | - pass. ptc. masc. sg. <i>šyr</i> 28:8; 29:9; 30:13; 34:12; 37:10; 39:9; 40:5; 41:9; 46:9; 47:9 |
| צור | (Heb.) n. “rock” | - cstr. <i>šwr</i> 15:11; 24:12; 60:8 |
| צות | vb. “obey” | - ptc. pl. with 2 p. masc. pl.encl. pron. <i>šytytwn</i> 59:7 |
| צותא | n. “companion” | 1:10(×2); 2:10(×2); 3:11; 4:10(×2); 5:8; 6:10; 7:10, 11; 9:10(×2) <i>šwth</i> 11:12(×2); 12:11(×2) |
| ציבעא | n. “colour”; see the note to JBA 9:14 | - pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. <i>šybʿwny</i> 9:14 (<i>he</i> has elided) (see also Morgenstern’s discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| צידעא | n. “temple” | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. <i>šydh</i> 9:5; <i>šydʿh</i> 1:6, 10; 2:6; 3:11; 4:6, 11, 15; 6:10; 7:6, 11; 8:7; 11:7, 12; 12:7, 12 - pl. <i>šydʿyn</i> 2:12; 4:13; 6:13; 9:13 |
| צילחתא | n. “migraine” | 2:7; 3:3; 4:3, 7; 6:14; 7:7; 8:4; 9:6; 10:7; 11:10; 12:9 |
| צלי | vb. “ring” | - inf. <i>lmysly</i> 9:13 (see also Morgenstern’s discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| צמוד | vb. “join, bind, yoke together” | - ptc. masc. sg. <i>šmyd</i> 55:6 |
| ק | | |
| קבל | vb. “receive” | <i>pa</i> . “receive, accept” - pf. 2 p. fem. sg. <i>qblt</i> 26:2 3 p. fem. sg. <i>qbylt</i> 25:7 - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. <i>tyqblyn</i> 60:10 - impv. fem. sg. <i>qbyl</i> 30:12; 40:3; 43:8; 47:7; <i>qbyly</i> 27:1; 29:7; 31:7; 32:1, 9; 34:10; 36:5; 41:7; 44:8; 46:7; 47:11; 58:5; 60:11; <i>qbly</i> 27:7; 31:1; 39:7; 42:6 fem. pl. <i>qbylw</i> 55:11 - ptc. sg. with 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. <i>mqblt</i> 46:10 |
| קברא | n. “grave” | - masc. pl. <i>qbry</i> 1:5; 2:6; 3:5; 4:6; 5:4; 6:5; 9:4; 10:5; 11:6; 12:6 |
| קדוש | (Heb.) adj. “holy”; see also קידוש | 11:5 |
| קדה | vb. “flee”; see Naveh and Shaked 1985, 183–184 | - impv. fem. sg. <i>qdwḥy</i> 30:12; <i>qdḥy</i> 27:7; 28:6; 29:7; 31:7; 32:9; 33:6; 37:8; 38:6; 42:7; 43:8; 44:8; 46:7; 47:7; 58:5; <i>qdḥyʿ</i> 45:5 (see also Morgenstern’s discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |

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| קדיש | (1) adj. “holy” | qdyš’ 64:6 |
| | (2) n. “holy one” | qdyš’ 2:3; 3:1; 4:1; 5:2; 6:3; 9:1; 24:1 qdyšh 1:1; 7:3 |
| קדם | prep. “before, in the presence of” | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. qdmwhy 15:8, 12 - in the compound prep. mnqwdm d- “because” 64:8 |
| קדמאה | adj. “first, primeval” | 47:11 - masc. pl. qdm’y 15:7; 18:6; 24:9; qdm’yy 19:12 |
| קדש | (Heb.) vb. “be holy” | <i>pu.</i> “be sanctified” - ptc. masc. sg. mqwdš 9:16 |
| קודשא | n. “holiness, Holy One” | 11:17; 12:16 |
| קום | vb. “stand, wake up, get up” | - inf. cstr. with 3 p. masc. pl. pron. suffix myqmyhwn 55:12; mqwmhwn 28:8; 29:9; 37:9; 39:9; 43:10; 47:8 - ptc. fem. sg. qym’ sg. with 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. qymt 64:5 - in the expression qym’ lqwblh “she opposes her” (lit. “she stands against her”) 9:18 masc. pl. qymyn - in the expression qymyn lqwbykwn “they oppose you (masc. pl.)” (lit. “they stand against you”) 48:9; 49:7 <i>itpa.</i> “endure, live, be fulfilled” - impf. 3 p. masc. sg. ytqym 34:2 3 p. fem. pl. ytqymn 46:11; 55:12 |
| קומתא | n. “body” | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. gwmth 12:8; qwmth 4:11, 15(×2); 6:6; 9:5, 16, 18; 11:8, 9, 13, 14; 12:8, 12, 13; qwmtyh 5:9 1 p. sg. qwmty 56:6 |
| קורחא | n. “ice” | 56:6 |
| קושטא | n. “truth” | 15:13 |
| קטל | vb. “kill” | - impf. 2 p. masc. sg. tyqtwl 48:2; 49:2 2 p. fem. sg. dqtlyn 40:5 - ptc. masc. sg. qtyl 25:9 fem. sg. qtl’ 27:4; 31:4; 32:6; 42:4; 45:2; qtlh 38:3 fem. pl. qtl’n 55:10 - pass. ptc. masc. pl. cstr. qtyly 40:1 <i>itpe.</i> “be killed” - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. ytqtyl 56:7 <i>pa.</i> “massacre” - ptc. fem. sg. mqtl’ 50:7; 51:5; 52:7; 53:5; 54:6 |

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| קידוש | (Heb.) n. "sanctification" | qdwš 28:10(×2) |
| קיים | adj. "established" | qym 2:14; 7:14; 25:11; 40:6; 55:14; 61:7 |
| קינא | n. "family" | 49:5 |
| קינינא | See קניינא. | |
| קלא | n. "voice" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. qlyh 44:10 |
| קלי | vb. "burn, roast" | - ptc. fem. sg. qly' 47:10 |
| קלמא | n. "vermin" | - abs. qlm 55:13 |
| קלע | (Heb.) n. "sling" | 25:1, 2 |
| קמיעא | n. "amulet" | 4:2; 17:1; 19:1; 20:1; 56:1; 64:8 qmy'h 7:14 |
| קניינא קינינא | n. "possession, property" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. qynynh 26:1; qynynyh 21:10; 63:1 3 p. fem. sg. qynynh 44:9 |
| קרא | n. "(biblical) verse" | qr'h 1:8; 2:9; 3:9; 4:9; 5:7; 6:9; 7:9; 9:8; 10:9 |
| קרב | vb. "come near, approach" | - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tqrbyn 34:11 2 p. masc. pl. tqrbwn 58:3 |
| קרבא | n. "war, battle" | 25:9 |
| קרי | vb. "call, summon" | - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. qryn' 56:8 masc. pl. qr'n 11:10(×2); qryn 49:3; qrn 1:7(×4); 2:7(×2), 8(×3); 3:8(×5); 4:8(×4); 5:6(×3); 6:7; 7:8(×3); 9:7(×3); 10:8(×3); 12:10(×3); 48:4 itpe. "be called" - ptc. masc. sg. mytqry 56:8 fem. sg. mytqry' 2:10; 5:5, 8; 6:3, 10, 15; 7:4, 10, 11; 9:2, 6, 9, 11, 12, 15; 10:2, 4, 7, 11; 28:7, 10; 43:2, 5; 55:5; mytqryh 4:13; 7:7 with 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. mytqryt 56:7 |
| קריב | (1) adj. "close, near" | - fem. sg. qrybt' 50:5; 51:4; 52:5; 53:4; 54:4 - for the expression byzmn qryb, see b-. |
| | (2) n. "relative" | qryb' 45:7 |
| קרייתא | n. "accident, mishap" (type of demon) | 50:5; 51:4; 52:5; 53:4; 54:4; qryth 56:6 |
| ר | | |
| ראה | (Heb.) vb. "see" | ni. "show oneself" - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tyr'y 25:2 hof. "be shown, be displayed" - ptc. fem. pl. mwr'wt 25:1 |

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| ראזא | See ראזא. | |
| ראשא | adj. “having authority, authorised” | - fem. sg. rš 51:5; 52:8 rš’h 50:7; 53:6; 54:6; 55:5 |
| רב | (1) adj. “great” | 55:10 rb 3:2; 6:3; 27:2, 9; 29:3; 31:2, 9; 34:4; 36:1; 37:4; 38:1; 42:2, 8; 45:1; 48:2, 5, 9; 49:1, 4 rbh 1:2; 4:2, 4, 14; 5:2; 6:15; 7:4; 9:1, 14, 16; 11:18; 12:18; 24:1; 30:8; 32:3, 11; 40:2; 43:3; 46:2; 47:3; 49:7; 55:9, 10 - fem. sg. rbt 35:4 |
| | (2) n. “great one, master, Rav, adult”; see also רבי | rb 23:4; 26:3, 4 rbh 38:1; 46:1 - pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. rbrbyhwn 23:2; 25:5 |
| רבותא | n. “greatness, majesty” | 15:14 |
| רבי | n. “rabbi” (lit. “my master”) | 1:8(×2); 2:8(×2); 3:9(×2); 4:9(×2); 5:6, 7; 6:8; 7:9(×2); 8:5(×2); 9:8(×2); 13:2; 14:1; 15:2, 8, 12; 16:2; 19:8, 10; 20:4; 21:3; 22:2; 24:1, 5, 8(×2), 11; 25:6, 7; 26:2, 3 |
| רבע | vb. “lie down” | <i>qf.</i> “make lie down” - ptc. masc. sg. mrbc 55:6 |
| רברבא | See רב (section 2). | |
| רדף רתף | vb. “persecute, pursue” | - ptc. fem. sg. with 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. rdpyt 8:7; rdpt 11:10; 21:10; 31:1; 41:1; 5:9; 6:10; 7:11; 9:10; rtpt 11:12; 12:11 |
| רוח | (Heb.) n. “spirit” | 9:17(×2) |
| רוחא | n. “spirit” | 1:5(×3), 6, 8(×2), 9, 10; 2:6(×3), 7, 8, 9(×2); 3:5, 6(×2), 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; 4:5, 6(×2), 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; 5:3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 6:5(×2), 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14; 7:6(×3), 7, 9(×2), 10, 11; 8:6; 9:4(×3), 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14; 10:5(×2), 6, 7, 11; 11:6, 7, 11; 12:6(×2), 9, 10; 15:12; 50:3, 5, 12; 51:4, 9; 52:6, 12; 53:5, 10; 54:5, 9; 55:3, 4(×3); 57:3 - cstr. rwh 2:4(×2); 3:3(×2), 4; 6:14(×4) - pl. rwhy 55:8, 10, 11; 64:9 rwhyn 1:3; 3:4, 5; 4:4, 15; 6:4; 37:3; 58:2 rwh’t 1:5; 2:5; 4:5; 5:3; 7:6; 9:4; 10:5; 12:5 |
| רום | (Heb.) vb. “be high” | - ptc. masc. sg. rm 9:16 |
| רומא | n. “height” | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. rwmh 55:3 |
| רושות | See רשות. | |

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| רזא ראזא | n. "secret, mystery" | r'z' 26:2(×2); 40:6 - pl. - cstr. rzy 25:3 - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. rzy 6:13; 9:13 |
| רחיק | (1) adj. "far, distant" | - fem. sg. rhyqt' 51:4; 52:5; 53:4; 54:4 |
| | (2) n. "stranger" | rhyq' 45:7 |
| רחם | vb. "love, have compassion" | pa. "grant mercy" - ptc. masc. sg. mrhm 56:10 |
| רחמי | n. "mercy" | - masc. pl. cstr. rhmym 7:2; 11:3; 12:3; 25:12; 34:1; 47:2; 51:2 |
| רחק | vb. "be far away" | itpa. "be far away" - impf. 2 p. masc. pl. tytrhqwn 59:7 - impv. masc. sg. 'ytrhq 48:7 af. "remove" - impv. masc. sg. 'rhyq 55:10 |
| ריבבא | n. "(male) nurse" | 45:7 |
| ריגלא | n. "foot" | - masc. pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. ryglyh 25:9 3 p. masc. pl. ryglyhwn 12:17 |
| ריחואה | n. "wind"; see the introduction to I.1.1 | 11:18; 12:18 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| ריפסי | n. meaning uncertain, perhaps "weakness", "trampling" or "shaking"; see the note to JBA 7:8 | 3:4; 7:8; 9:14 |
| רישא | n. "head" | 2:12; 4:13; 6:12 ryš'h 9:13 - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. r'yšh 1:10; 7:11; r'šh 1:5; 2:6, 10; 7:6; 9:10; 10:6; ry'šh 4:14; ryšh 3:6, 11; 4:3, 6, 11; 5:4; 6:10; 8:7; 9:5; 11:7, 12; 12:7, 12; ryšyh 5:9 |
| רמאה | n. "ache" | - pl. rm'y 7:8 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |

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| רמי | vb. “throw, hurl, cast” | - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. rmyyn' 20:3; rmy'n' 13:1; 16:1; 21:1 - pass. ptc. masc. sg. rmy 15:4; 19:5; 24:3; 62:3 <i>af.</i> “throw” - ptc. masc. sg. mrmy 4:14; 9:13(×2), 14 |
| רמתא | n. “height” | - pl. r'mt' 14:5; 21:9; 22:7; rmwt' 16:7; rmt' 13:5; 17:5; 20:7 |
| רע | (Heb.) adj. “evil” | - fem. sg. r'h 9:17 - for the expression 'yn r'h , see 'yn . |
| רעיא | n. “shepherd” | 55:6 |
| רעש | vb. “tremble, be disturbed” | <i>af.</i> “disturb” - impf. 2 p. masc. pl. with 3 p. masc. sg. pron. suffix tršwnh 58:3 (see also Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| רקילא | See the introduction to I.2.2 | - used in a problematic deviation from the standard reading that has dyn wrqyl' for dšyr glyp “(on) which (the ineffable name) is drawn and carved” 27:9; 31:9; 32:11; 42:8 |
| רקיעא | n. “sky, firmament” | 15:7; 19:12; 23:1; 25:3 rqy' 25:7; rqy'h 18:6 - pl. rqy'yn 59:6 |
| רקע | vb. “patch”; see the note to JBA 26:6 | <i>pa.</i> “patch” - inf. lrq'h 26:6 |
| רשות רושות | (Heb.) n. “power, authority” | - in the expression brwšwt “legitimately” 25:1 |
| רשיע | n. “wicked one” | - pl. ršy'yh 59:6 |
| רתף | See רדף. | |
| ש | | |
| -ש | (Heb.) conj. “(in order) that”; cf. also -שה | 25:2 |
| שאול | n. “Sheol, the grave” (Heb. loanword) | 44:10 |
| שאלה | See שאלה. | |
| שאל | vb. “ask” | - pf. 1 p. sg. š'ylyt 9:17 |
| שאל | (Heb.) vb. “ask” | - ptc. masc. sg. šw'yl 9:17 |

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| שאלה שאלה | (Heb.) n. "request" | - pl. cstr. š'yłwt 9:17 - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. pl. š'yłtkm 9:17 |
| שבא | See שיבבא. | |
| שבועתא | n. "oath" | - cstr. šbw't 55:10 - pl. šbw't 55:12 |
| שבילא | n. "path" | - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. šbylky 47:11 |
| שבע | vb. "swear" | af. "beswear" - pf. 1 p. sg. šb'yt 8:4; 9:18; 15:11; 18:9; 24:12; 25:1, 2; 29:3, 5; 30:10; 33:4; 34:4; 37:4, 6; 38:2; 39:2, 5; 43:3, 6; 45:1; 46:3, 5; 47:3, 5; 48:1; 49:1; 55:2; 59:2, 5; 60:8, 9; 62:1; 64:1, 4, 7; šb't 40:2 1 p. sg. with 2 p. masc. pl. pron. suffix šb'tykwn 64:6 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. mšb'n' 1:9; 2:8, 9; 3:8; 6:8, 9, 14; 8:6; 9:7, 9; 11:1; 12:10; 27:2, 5; 31:2, 5; 32:3, 6; 34:6; 36:1; 42:2, 4; 48:5, 9; 49:4, 8; 50:8; 51:7; 52:9; 53:7; 54:7; 57:3; 60:10; 61:2; 63:3; mšb'nh 3:10; 4:8, 14; 5:6, 8; 7:8, 10; 9:14; 10:8 |
| שבעא | num. "seven" | 25:5, 6 šb'h 55:3; 59:6 šb' 26:6(×2); 44:9 šb' as ordinal 44:10 - pl. "seventy" šb'yn 15:8, 12; 18:7 |
| שבק | vb. "leave, divorce, dismiss" | - pf. 1 p. sg. šbqyt 38:5; 45:4 - impv. masc. pl. šbwqw 55:13 - inf. myšbq 56:6 |
| שגר | vb. "heat up" | pa. "inflamm" - ptc. masc. pl. mšgryn 64:2 |
| שנש | vb. "disturb, confuse" | pa. "disturb, confuse" - inf. lšgš' 2:12; 4:13; 6:13; 9:13 |
| שדי | vb. "throw" | - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. šdyn' 55:7 |

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| שדר | vb. "send" | <i>pa.</i> "send" - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. <i>šdr</i> 2:12; 4:13; 9:12; 25:7 3 p. masc. pl. <i>šdrw</i> 3:12; 5:9; 6:11; 8:8; 9:11; 23:4; 25:6 - impf. 2 p. masc. sg. <i>tyšdr</i> 15:13 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. <i>mšdrn'</i> 11:14; 12:14; 48:10; 49:8 <i>itpa.</i> "be sent" - pf. 3 p. masc. pl. <i>yštdrw</i> 2:11; 4:12; 48:10; 49:8; <i>yštdrn</i> 7:12; <i>štdrw</i> 1:11 |
| -שה | (Heb.) rel. pron. "that, which, who" | 25:1(×3) |
| שום | See שמא. | |
| שוקא | n. "street" | - pl. <i>šwqy</i> 44:4 |
| שורבתא | n. "family" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. <i>šwrbyth</i> 29:8 3 p. fem. sg. <i>šwrbyth</i> 15:10; <i>šwrtyh</i> (!) 40:4 - pl. - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. <i>šwrbythwn</i> 35:2 |
| שורינא | n. "sinew" | - pl. cstr. <i>šwryny</i> 4:15; 11:8, 13; 12:8, 12 |
| שיבבא | n. "neighbour" | <i>šb'</i> (!) 45:7 |
| שיבוקין | n. "dismissal, divorce" | 13:8; 14:2, 7; 17:4; 20:6, 9; 21:7, 12; 22:4, 10; 60:10 <i>šbwqyn</i> 16:5 <i>šyybwqyn</i> 17:8 - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. <i>šybwqky</i> 62:5 |
| שיבטא שיפטא | n. "affliction" (type of demon) | - pl. <i>šybtyn</i> 14:5; <i>šybtyn</i> 58:2; <i>šypty</i> 37:7; 39:6; 59:2; <i>šyptyn</i> 21:4; <i>špty</i> 43:7 |
| שידא | n. "demon" | 15:12, 13; 47:11; 48:2, 5, 6; 49:5 - masc. pl. <i>šdy</i> 26:3, 4(×2); 36:1, 4; <i>šdyn</i> 26:5; <i>šyd'</i> 45:1, 5; <i>šydy</i> 13:6; 14:2, 5; 16:7; 21:9; 22:7; 23:1, 4; 25:4; 27:2, 7; 28:6; 29:7; 30:11, 12; 31:2, 6; 32:2, 8; 33:1; 34:7; 35:9; 37:7(×2); 38:1, 5; 39:1, 6(×2); 40:1, 3(×2); 41:6; 42:2, 6; 43:3, 7; 46:6; 47:2, 6(×2); 48:10; 49:8; 56:8; 59:2; 64:1, 8; <i>šydy</i> 20:7; <i>šydyn</i> 9:14; 14:8; 21:3; 27:6; 31:6; 32:7; 42:5; 58:2; <i>šyydy</i> 17:6 |
| שידא | n. "side" | - cstr. <i>šyd</i> 40:4(×2) |
| שימשא | n. "sun" | <i>šymšh</i> 4:14; <i>šmš'</i> 15:14 |
| שינתא | n. "sleep" | 16:4; 62:6 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. <i>šynthwn</i> 15:11; 28:8; 29:8; 37:9; 39:8; 47:8 |
| שיפטא | See שיבטא. | |
| שיר שירא שר שירא | n. "rope"; see the note to JBA 26:5 | <i>šr šyr'</i> 26:5 |

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| שיתא | num. "six" | 9:15 šyth 4:15 - pl. "sixty" šytyn 4:15; 9:15; 18:10; 55:3 |
| שכב | vb. "lie down, recline" | - inf. cstr. with 3 p. masc. pl. pron. suffix myškbhwn 28:8; 29:9; 37:9; 39:9; 47:8; myškbhwn 55:12 - see also the expression byt myškbhwn "sleeping quarters" - ptc. fem. sg. škb' 1:5(×3); 3:6; 4:6; 6:5(×2); 9:4(×2), 5; 11:6(×2), 7; 12:6(×3); škbh 2:6(×3); 3:5, 6; 4:5, 6; 5:4(×2); 7:6(×2); 10:5, 6(×2) masc. pl. škbyn 64:4 |
| שכח | vb. "find" | <i>itpe.</i> "be found" - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. ʾyštkḥ 15:5, 6; 18:4, 5; 19:9, 11; 24:7, 9 |
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| שכלל | vb. "complete; form, build"; see the note to JBA 59:5 | <i>šaf.</i> (< Akk.) "complete; form, build" - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. škllyl 59:5 |
| שכן | (Heb.) vb. "dwell" | - ptc. masc. sg. šwkyn 9:16 |
| שלה (1) | vb. "send" | - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. šlh 15:7, 8; 19:7, 8, 10; 24:5(×2) - impv. masc. pl. šlhw 11:17; 12:17 |
| שלה (2) | vb. "remove clothes"; see the notes to JBA 15:4 and JBA 19:4 | - pass. ptc. pl. with 2 p. masc. pl. enc. pron. šlhtwn 19:4 pl. with 2 p. fem. pl. enc. pron. šlyh̄tytn 15:4; 18:3; 24:3; šlyh̄tytn 62:2 |
| שליט | (1) adj. "having control, having authority, ruling" | 50:7; 51:6; 52:8; 53:6; 54:6; 55:5, 10 |
| | (2) n. "ruler" | šlt 36:4; šlyt 27:6; 30:11; 31:5; 32:7; 34:7; 37:7; 39:6; 41:6; 42:5; 43:6; 44:6; 47:5; šlyt' 27:2; 29:3; 30:8; 31:2; 32:3; 33:1; 34:4; 36:1; 38:1; 39:2; 40:3; 42:2; 43:3; 45:1; 46:1; 47:2; 48:2; 49:1 |
| שלמא | adj. "complete" | - fem. sg. šlmt' 10:3 |
| שליניתא שנניתא | n. "grabber" (type of demon) | 15:3; 19:4, 10; 24:2, 8 šnnyṭ' 62:2 |
| שם | (Heb.) n. "name" | 20:6; 21:8; 22:5; 28:9; 29:9; 30:13; 35:8; 37:10; 47:9 šwm 16:5; 34:13; 40:6; 46:9 - with pron. suffix 1 p. sg. šmy 24:12(×2) 2 p. masc. sg. šmyk 17:1; 19:1; 20:1; 56:1; šmk 1:1; 2:2; 3:1; 4:1; 5:2; 7:3; 9:1; 10:3; 11:4; 12:4; 21:13; 22:10; 24:1; 27:1; 28:9; 31:1, 9; 32:2; 37:10; 39:10; 42:1; 46:10; 47:9; 53:1; 59:1; 62:7 - pl. šymwt 13:4, 5; 14:4(×2); 22:6; šymt 16:6; šmwt 17:5; 20:6; 21:8; šmt 16:6 |

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| שמה | n. "name" | <p>27:1; 31:1; 32:1; 42:1; 48:5; 49:4 šwm 17:2; 19:2; 20:3; 24:13; 27:9; 31:9; 32:11; 35:6; 42:8; 50:2, 8; 51:1, 6; 52:2, 9; 53:1, 7; 54:1; 55:9; 56:3; 58:1; šmh 15:13 - cstr. šwm 1:4; 2:5; 3:4; 4:4; 6:4; 7:5; 9:3, 16; 10:4; 13:4; 14:4; 15:12(×3), 13(×3), 14; 16:5; 17:4; 19:8, 9; 21:7; 22:4; 24:6(×2); 25:9(×2), 10, 11; 27:8; 28:8, 10(×2); 29:9; 30:13; 31:8; 32:10; 34:3; 37:9; 40:5; 42:7; 43:10; 46:8; 47:8, 11; 48:4; 49:3; 50:11(×2), 12; 51:9(×2); 52:12(×3); 53:10(×2); 54:9, 10; 55:9; 56:9; 57:1; 64:1, 7 - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. sg. šmh 48:7; šmyh 1:11; 2:11, 13; 3:12; 4:12, 14; 5:1, 10; 6:15; 7:12; 9:11, 14, 18; 11:15; 12:14; 15:2, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13(×2); 18:7; 19:3, 6, 9, 11, 12; 23:2, 3(×2); 24:1, 4, 7, 9, 10; 25:5(×3), 7(×2); 26:3(×2), 4; 48:4; 50:9, 12; 51:7, 9(×2); 52:10, 13; 53:8, 9, 10; 54:8, 9, 10; 57:6(×2); 58:4; 60:10; 61:4(×2); 62:1, 3, 5, 6; 63:7(×2); 64:4, 6(×2), 7(×2) 3 p. fem. sg. šmh 1:6; 2:7, 10, 14; 3:7; 4:7; 5:5; 6:6; 7:7; 9:6; 10:7; 11:9; 12:9; 55:2, 3, 4(×2), 5; šmyh 48:7; 49:6 2 p. masc. pl. šwwmkwn 19:12; šmykwn 19:9 2 p. fem. pl. šwmkyn 15:6, 7, 8(×2); šmykyn 24:7, 9 3 p. masc. pl. šmyhwn 21:5(×2) - pl. - cstr. šmht 35:4 - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. pl. šmykyn 55:11</p> |
| שמיא | n. "heaven" | <p>11:1, 4, 18; 12:3, 18; 13:5; 15:6; 17:5; 19:9; 20:7; 24:7; 25:12; 30:2; 43:1; 51:2; 55:1, 2; 56:5 šmyh 1:2; 3:2; 6:1; 7:1, 2, 4, 5; 9:2, 16, 18; 10:1, 4; 12:1; 14:5; 15:1; 16:6; 18:5; 21:8; 22:6; 26:1; 37:1; 47:1, 2; 56:10; 58:1; 64:6 - cstr. šmy 22:8</p> |
| שמע | vb. "hear, listen" | <p>- impv. fem. sg. šm'y 15:9; 24:10 masc. pl. šm'ww 19:12 - pass. ptc. masc. sg. šmy' 15:7; 18:6; 19:5, 7; 24:4, 5; 62:3 - in <i>qeṭil l-</i> forms 24:9(×2) 1 p. pl. šmy' lnh 15:7; 19:11 3 p. masc. pl. šmy' lhwn 15:7; 18:6; 19:12</p> |
| שמש | vb. "minister, use" | <p><i>pa.</i> "to use", perhaps sexually, i.e. "abuse" - ptc. fem. sg. mšmšh 9:8</p> |
| שמת | vb. "ban" | <p><i>pa.</i> "ban, excommunicate" - impf. 3 p. masc. pl. yšmtwn 1:11; 3:11; 4:11; 5:9; 6:10, 11; 7:11; 9:11 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. mšmtn' 11:14; 12:13 <i>itpa.</i> "be banned, be excommunicated" - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tšmty 26:2</p> |

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|---------|---|---|
| שמתא | n. "ban, excommunication" | 15:8; 19:8, 10; 24:5, 8; 25:7; 26:2, 3(×3), 4(×3); 27:1; 31:1; 32:1; 59:8 |
| שני | vb. "be different" | <i>pa.</i> "change" - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. šny 47:11 - impv. fem. sg. šn' 47:11 <i>itpa.</i> "change, be changed" - ptc. pl. with 2. p. fem. pl. encl. pron. myštnytyn 64:5 <i>af.</i> (or <i>pa.</i>) "drive mad, cause madness" (see Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) - ptc. masc. sg. mšny 2:13; 4:14; 9:14 fem. sg. with 2 p. fem. sg. encl. pron. mšnyt 6:14 |
| שנניתא | See שלניתא. | |
| שעבד | See עבד. | |
| שעתא | n. "time, hour" | 1:8; 2:9; 3:9; 4:9; 5:7; 6:9; 9:8; 10:9 š'th 7:9 - pl. š'y 15:11 - pl. cstr. š'y 15:11 |
| שפופתי | n. "crawler, cripple" (epithet of demons; see also משפופתי) | 1:7; 2:8; 3:8; 4:8; 10:8 (see Morgenstern's discussion of linguistic features in this volume) |
| שפחה | (Heb.) n. "maidservant" | - pl. šphwt 25:1 |
| שקא | n. "leg, foreleg" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. fem. sg. šqh 6:6 |
| שקל | vb. "take" | - pf. 1 p. sg. šqlyt 26:6(×2) - impv. fem. sg. šqwly 27:7; 29:7; 30:12; 31:7; 32:9; 34:9; 36:5; 39:7; 40:3; 41:7; 42:6; 43:8; 46:7; 47:6; 58:5 - ptc. masc. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. šqlyn' 14:1; 16:1; 21:1; šqln' 22:1; šqlnh 20:3 |
| שקף | vb. "beat" | - ptc. fem. sg. šqp' 30:9 |
| שר שירא | See שיר שירא. | |
| שרי (1) | vb. "dwell, reside" | - ptc. masc. sg. šry 25:10; šry' 15:14 fem. sg. šry' 30:9; 31:3; 32:5; 36:2; 40:2; 43:4; 44:3; 46:4; 47:3; šryh 27:3; 38:3; 39:3; 42:3; 45:2; 50:9; 51:7; 52:9; 53:7; 54:7 masc. pl. šry' 59:3; šrn 25:4 <i>af.</i> "cause to dwell, cause to reside" - pf. 3 p. masc. sg. 'šry 59:6, 8 |

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| שרי (2) | vb. "loosen, unbind" | - inf. lmyšr' 7:15 |
| שריר | adj. "sound" | 7:14; 25:11; 40:6; 55:14; 61:7 |
| שרר | vb. "be strong" | - impf. 3 p. masc. pl. yyšrw 58:2 |
| שש | (Heb.) num. "six" | - masc. sg. cstr. šyšt 27:9; 28:9; 29:9; 30:14; 31:9; 32:11; 37:10; 40:6; 42:8; 47:9; ššt 46:9 |
| שתא | n. "year" | - pl. šny 56:4 |
| שתי | vb. "drink" | - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tyštyn 47:10 - ptc. fem. sg. šty' 47:10 |
| ש | | |
| שערא סערא | n. "hair" | - with pron. suffix 3 p. masc. pl. š'rhwn 26:6 - masc. pl. - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. pl. š'rykwn 19:5 2 p. fem. pl. š'rykyn 24:3; 55:7; 62:3; š'rykyn 15:4 |
| שרא סרא | n. "guardian angel" | sr' 50:12; 51:9; 53:10; 54:10 - cstr. sr 57:7; šr 50:12; 51:9; 52:12; 53:10; 54:9 |
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| תבר | vb. "break" | - impf. 3 p. masc. pl. ytbrwn 1:11; 4:11; 5:9; 6:11; 7:11; 9:11 <i>itpe.</i> "be broken" - pf. 3 p. masc. pl. ytbrw 1:11; 5:9; 6:11; 8:8; 9:11; 14:6; 'ytbrn 3:12; 4:11; 7:12 - impf. 2 p. fem. sg. tytbryn 14:6 See the note to JBA 14:6. |
| תהומא | n. "abyss" | - pl. thwmy 25:3 |
| תוב/תו | adv. "again" | tw 55:13 twb 1:9(×2); 2:9(×2); 3:10(×2); 4:10(×2); 5:8(×2); 6:9(×2); 7:10(×2); 8:6(×2); 9:9(×2); 14:3; 27:7; 29:7; 30:12; 31:7; 32:8; 34:9, 11; 36:5; 40:3; 42:6; 43:7; 46:7, 10; 47:6; 64:9(×2) |
| תוך | (Heb.) n. "middle" | - in the prep. mytwk "from the midst of, out of" 13:4(×3); 14:4(×3); 16:5(×2), 6(×3); 17:4, 5(×3); 20:6(×4); mtwk 21:7, 8(×3); 22:5(×2), 6(×2) |
| תוקפא | n. "(outburst of) anger" | - pl. cstr. twqpy 11:17; 12:17 |
| תחות | prep. "under" | 25:9 |

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| תחנון | (Heb.) n. "pleading, supplication, entreaty" | - with pron. suffix 1 p. sg. tḥnwny 9:17 - pl. cstr. tḥnwny 9:16 |
| תחתאה | adj. "lower" | - fem. sg. tḥtyt' 55:8 |
| תירוכין | n. "divorce" | 13:8; 14:7; 20:9; 60:10 tyyrwkyn 17:7 trwkyn 21:12; 22:10 - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. sg. tyrwkyky 14:3; tyrwkky 24:13; 62:5 |
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| תלתא | num. "three" | - with pron. suffix 2 p. masc. pl. tḥtykwn 19:5 2 p. fem. pl. tḥtykyn 15:3; 24:3; 62:2 |
| תמוז | n. "Tammuz" (June–July) | 56:6 |
| תמניא | num. "eight" | 12:8, 13 tmny 11:14 |
| תפח | (Heb.) vb. "swell" | <i>hif.</i> "cause to swell, cause to increase" - ptc. masc. sg. mtpyh 9:16 |
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| תרבא | n. "fat" | - with pron. suffix 2 p. fem. pl. trbykyn 55:7 |
| תרי | num. "two" | tryn 4:15; 9:15, 18 - fem. in trty 'yśry "twelve" 15:11; trty 'śry "twelve" 15:11 |
| תרד | vb. "divorce" | <i>pa.</i> "divorce" - pf. 1 p. sg. trykyt 30:11; 46:6; 55:8 - ptc. fem. sg. with 1 p. sg. encl. pron. mtrkn' 56:5 |
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LIST OF DIVINE NAMES, NAMES OF ANGELS, DEMONS
AND EXEMPLARY FIGURES, AND *NOMINA BARBARA*

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| אבה | | 40:5 |
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| בופתאי | Buftay; wife of אטש בר קאקאי | 63:5 |
| ביזדד בר גושני | Bizdad son of Gušnay | 34:12 |
| בינבוו בר בתשפתיי | Be-Nebo son of Bat-Šappetay | 17:4, 7 |
| ברחבשבא בר חתי | Bar-ḥa-be-šabba son of Ḥatay | 36:1, 2 |
| ברסהדי בר אחתא | Bar-Sahde son of Aḥata | 27:4, 8; 31:4–5, 8; 32:5, 9–10; 42:3, 7 |
| בתגדא | Batgadda; see דדוי בת בתגדא | |
| בתחיי בת אימי | Baṭḥayye daughter of Immi; wife of מחלפא בר משמש | 62:4, 5 |
| בת נאני | Bat-Nanay; wife of [---] בר סמא | 44:4, 9 |
| בתסהדי | Bat-Sahde; see מתיישו מתישו and בת בתסהדי בת בתסהדי | |
| ג | | |
| גדאי | Gaday, child of הורמזדוך בת קאקי | 48:4 |
| גונדאס בר רשיונדוך גונדס בר רשיונדוך גונדספ בר רשודוך גונדספ בר רשיונדוך אונדאס בר רשיונדוך | Gundas son of Rašewandukh, Gundasp son of Rašewandukh, Undas son of Rašewandukh | 2:3; 15:2, 9, 12; 29:2, 4, 8; 39:4, 7–8; 47:4 |

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|--|---|-----------------------------|
| גושנזדוך | Gušnazdukh; see פרוכד בר גושנזדוך. | |
| גושנזדוך | Gušnazdukh; see שילי בר גושנזדוך. | |
| גושני | Gušnay; see ביוזד בר גושני. | |
| גושנצפפרי | Gušnašpafri; see דוכתביה בת גושנצפפרי. | |
| גיוני בת לאלי | Giyonay daughter of Lalay | 56:3, 5, 9 |
| גיוזא בר דודי | Giza son of Duday | 22:4, 9 |
| גיסתא בת איפרא הורמיץ | Gista daughter of Ifra-Hormiṣ | 64:5, 8, 9 |
| ד | | |
| דאשתוי בר קאקאי | Daštoṭ son of Qaqay | 63:6 |
| דדוי בת בתגדא | Dadoy daughter of Batgadda | 58:1, 3, 5 |
| דודי | Duday; see גיוזא בר דודי and [---]. | |
| דוכתביה בת גושנצפפרי דוכתבי בת גושנצפפרי | Dukhtbeh daughter of Gušnašp-fri; wife of פרוך בר רשיונדוך. | 23:5; 37:2, 5, 8; 59:4–5, 7 |
| דוכתוי בת הורמיזדוך | Dukhtoy daughter of Hormizdukh | 34:1–2, 5–6, 8, 10, 12 |
| דוכתי בת הורמיזדוך | Dukhtay daughter of Hormizdukh | 35:3, 7, 10 |
| דיבשאטא | Dibšata; see אגור בר דיבשאטא. | |
| דינכוש | Denkhwaš; see ניהוי בר דינכוש. | |
| דינרי | Denroy (?); see איחי בר דינרי. | |
| דרכתק | Drakhtaq; husband of מתישו בת בתסהדי. | 24:10 |
| דרכתק בר מתישו | Drakhtaq son of Mat-Yišu | 46:4, 8 |
| ה | | |
| הורמיז בר אמה | Hormiz son of Imma | 19:2, 7, 12–13 |
| הורמיז בר מאמה | Hormiz son of Mama | 56:2, 8–9 |

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|-------------------|--|-------------------------|
| הורמיזדוך | Hormizdukh; see דוכתוי בת הורמיזדוך, דוכתי בת הורמיזדוך and ממא בת הורמיזדוך. | |
| הורמיזדוך בת קאקי | Hormizdukh daughter of Qaqay | 48:4(×2), 8; 49:3; 61:3 |
| ח | | |
| חייא בר טאטי | Ḥayye son of Ṭaṭay | 57:4(×2) |
| חתי בת מרבא | Ḥatay daughter of Marba; see also ברחבשבא בר חתי. | 36:2, 3 |
| ט | | |
| טאטי | Ṭaṭay; see חייא בר טאטי. | |
| טוטיי | Ṭuṭay; see שבורדוך בת טוטיי. | |
| י | | |
| ייתא | Yawita, wife of נורד בר אחי בר נביא; see also ייתא. | 21:11 |
| ייא בת אייא | Yaya (?) daughter of Aya (?) | 45:4 |
| כ | | |
| כוטוס | Kuṭus; nickname of מיהרנהיד בת אחת. | |
| כורה[-]א בר קאקי | Khwarrah[-]a son of Qaqay | 60:11 |
| כורהתא | Khwarrahta, wife of כורה[-]א בר קאקי. | 60:11 |
| כורוק | Khwaruq (?); see אסמנדוך בת כורוק. | |
| כיכוש | Kaykhwaš, wife of ניהוי בר דינכוש. | 63:7 |
| כסרו בר נרסידוך | Khusro son of Narsedukh | 28:6–7 |
| ל | | |
| לאליי | Lalay; see גיוניי בת מחלפתא and לאליי לאליי. | |

מ

| | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| מאמה | Mama; see הורמיז בר מאמה. | |
| מהדוך בת ניונדוך | Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh; see also מיהרוי בת מהדוך. | 1:2-3, 6, 9, 10; 2:3-4, 7; 3:2-3, 7, 10-11, 11; 4:2-3, 7, 10, 11; 15:10; 29:1-2, 5, 7-8; 39:4, 8; 41:8; 47:1, 4, 7 (!), 7, 10 |
| מחלפא בר משמש | Mahlafa son of Maššamaš | 62:4, 5 |
| מחלפתא בת אשרקום | Mahlafa daughter of Ašarqum | 16:4 |
| מחלפתא בת לאליי | Mahlafa daughter of Lalay, wife of בר בינבוו בתשפתיי. | 17:2, 4, 7 |
| מיהרוי בת מהדוך | Mihroy daughter of Mahdukh (nicknamed Rašewandukh) | 2:10, 10-11, 13-14; |
| מיהרנהיד בת אחת | Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat (nicknamed Kuṭus); see also איוב בר מיהרנהיד. | 5:1-2, 4-5, 8; 6:1-2, 3-4, 6, 9-10, 10, 15; 7:2, 4, 7, 10, 11; 9:2-3, 5-6, 9-10, 10-11, 15, 18(×2); 10:1-2, 4, 6-7, 10, 11; 28:7, 10; 43:2, 5 |
| מירי | Miray; see בר מירי [---]. | |
| מיריס | Miriam, wife of דאשתוי בר קאקאי. | 63:6 |
| מישכוי בת אנושפרי | Miškoj daughter of Anušfri | 12:2, 8-9, 11, 11-12, 13, 17, 18(×2); 55:1, 7, 9, 12, 14 |
| ממא בת הורמיזדוך | Mama daughter of Hormizdukh | 20:2, 5, 9 |
| מסנקא בר תיקלא | Mesanneqa son of Tiqla | 20:2, 5, 9 |
| משכוי | Maškoy, wife of פרוך בר רשיונדוך. | 30:13 |
| משמש | Maššamaš; see מחלפא בר משמש. | |
| מתיישו בת בתסהדי | Mat-Yišu daughter of Bat-Sahde | 24:5, 10, 13 |
| מתישו בת בתסהדי | Mat-Yišu daughter of Bat-Sahde; see also דרכתק בר מתישו. | 46:4, 8 |

נ

| | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|------------|
| נאנאי | Nanay, wife of בר שילי גושנודוך. | 14:4, 6, 7 |
| נביא | Nabiya (?); see נורד בר נביא. | |

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| נורד בר נביא | Naward son of Nabiya (?) | 21:6, 10 |
| ניהוי בר דינכוש | Nihoy son of Denkhwaš | 63:6 |
| ניונדוך | Newandukh; see מהדוך בת ניונדוך. | |
| ננא | Nana; see אחי בר ננא. | |
| ננה | Written as error for קאקי. | 52:10 |
| נרסי בר דודי | Narse son of Duday | 48:3, 8; 49:3, 6; 61:3(×2) |
| נרסידוך | Narsedukh; see כסרו בר נרסידוך. | |
| ס | | |
| סמא | Sama; see [---] בר סמא. | |
| ספראי בר אניהדאג | Safray son of Anihdag | 63:2, 4(×2) |
| פ | | |
| פרוך בר רשיונדוך פרוך בר רשונדוך | Farrokḥ son of Rašewandukh | 23:5; 30:9, 11, 12; 37:5, 8; 59:4, 7 |
| פרוך בת אדינכוריה | Farrokḥ daughter of Aden-xwarriḥ (nicknamed Anuš) | 11:2, 9, 11–12, 12, 14, 17, 18(×2) |
| פרוכד בר גושנודוך | Farrokḥdad son of Gušnazdukḥ, husband of מישכוי בת אנושפרי. | 55:12 |
| פרכוי בת אחתא | Farrokhoy daughter of Aḥata | 36:1 |
| ק | | |
| קאקאי | Qaqay; see אטש בר דאשתוי בר קאקאי and קאקאי. | |
| קאקי | Qaqay; see אימי בת קאקי. | |
| קאקי | Qaqay, child of הורמיזדוך בת קאקי. | 48:4 |
| קאקי | Qaqay; see הורמיזדוך בת קאקי. | |
| קאקי | Qaqay; see כורה [-]א בר קאקי. | |

ר

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| רשיונדוך | Rašewandukh; see גונדאס בר רשיונדוך and פרוך בר רשיונדוך; also, nickname of בת מהרוי מהדוך. | |
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ש

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| שבורדוך בת טוטי | Šaburdukh daughter of Tuṭay, wife of הוורמיז בר אמה. | 19:2, 7 |
| שילי בר גושנזדוך | Šilay son of Gušnazdukh | 14:3, 6, 7 |
| שילתא | Šilta; see אבוסמכא בר שילתא. | |

ת

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| תיקלא | Tiqḷa; see מסנקא בר תיקלא. | |
| תיתי | Titi; see אבא בר תיתי. | |

Unknown first
name:

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| בר אחתא [---] | [---] son of Aḥata | 45:4 |
| בר מירי [---] | [---] son of Miray | 36:3 |
| בר סמא [---] | [---] son of Sama | 44:8 |
| תא בת אימי [---] | [---]ta daughter of בהמנדד Immi, wife of בר מגיתא. | 25:2, 4 |
| בת דודי [---] | [---] daughter of חייא בר Duday, wife of טאטי. | 57:5 |

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